

LANGUAGE POLICY, PROTEST AND REBELLION

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The hypothesis that language discrimination contributes to protest and/or rebellion is tested. Constitutional language policy regarding administrative/judicial, educational and other matters is measured on three separate scales developed for this study; the status of each minority group's language under its country's policy is measured by another set of scales. Protest and rebellion variables are taken from Gurr's *Minorities at Risk* study.

Findings include an indication that group language status contributes positively to protest and rebellion until a language attains moderate recognition by the government, at which point status develops a negative relationship with protest and rebellion, and an indication that countries with wider internal variations in their treatment of language groups experience higher levels of protest and rebellion on the part of minority groups.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### **Finding the Question**

The current question arose as a byproduct of an investigation into “official English” as a public issue in the United States. Research of federal court cases dealing with official language issues turned up a number of court transcripts dealing with appeals of federal immigration authorities’ denials of refugee petitions. In one appeal after another, the phrase “My language is not the official language of my country” was followed by accounts of discrimination and various forms of alleged maltreatment at the hands of the petitioner’s government. The naming of language policy as a contributing cause of a political exit decision – an example of the human “flight” reaction to a perceived danger – provoked my curiosity about other possible reactions to discrimination associated with language policy. Would these reactions fall into the “fight” category? What type of language policy produces what type of protest or rebellion? In scientific form, the question became: What is the relationship between language policy and protest or rebellion?

Language, in the performance of its most elemental function, provides a means of communication between one person and another; history has taught us, however, that language assumes roles of varying complexity in the ongoing interactions between persons, linguistic groups and ultimately states. For some, language is a matter of

convenience or of social manners; for others a cultural icon which is remembered fondly along with the great-grandparents who assimilated themselves into the linguistic majority, and for still others, an inextricable part of the same package as freedom and self-determination. These images of language provide numerous aspects of language to study. Linguists examine language itself – the meanings of words, the grammatical rules – and the relationship of one language to another. Sociolinguists explore the link between language and identity and how individuals make language choices. Educators study the way in which language is learned and, correspondingly, the methods by which language can be taught. Political scientists are primarily concerned with the part which language plays in power exchanges, especially as language differences constitute one component of the underlying “otherness” forming the basis for ethnic conflict.

News articles (e.g. Collins 1997) regularly attribute ethnic conflict, protest and rebellion to language issues. There seems to be little controversy in political science literature over whether conflict over language issues can lead to civil conflict or to protest and rebellion. But is it that simple? Weinstein (1983, 15) sums it up in a statement that begins innocuously enough but reveals undecided issues: “Disagreement over the official language of a country and the medium of instruction in schools (which can be a disagreement about who shall participate in power, wealth, and prestige) is a source of conflict between ethnic groups, regions, and states.” Right away we are given a clue that the reasons for language conflict and its persistence might or might not be the language itself, that language conflict can occur along several dimensions and that paths from language issues to protest and rebellion are not all the same.



## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### **Language Policy, Protest and Rebellion**

The connection between language policy and protest or rebellion has been much discussed but seldom tested. Language policy has come to be taken for granted as a contributing factor to minority group protest and rebellion on the basis of claims by minority linguistic groups that language is a major issue. Previous research has generally not concentrated on the question of whether and how language policy influences protest and rebellion but rather on aspects related to language or to protest and rebellion ranging from the development of language policy to the phenomenon of ethnic conflict as a whole. Fortunately, there are studies of language policy (both as an independent and a dependent variable) and studies of protest and rebellion which should provide valuable background to the current research, along with a few that link variables related to language with variables related to protest and rebellion. Examples of the latter include studies of linguistic heterogeneity or cultural discrimination as related to conflict. Several theoretical proposals include studies of language and its accompanying values and typologies of language situations (language regimes) and language policy. These “edge pieces” to the puzzle of language and politics appear to be sufficiently developed to enable us to begin to fill in a new area of research concentration.

Several studies whose main focus is not language policy and protest or rebellion contain references to a connection between the two. For example, although Laitin (1977, 18) states that public reaction against a choice of official language in Africa was not generally intense at the time of his study, Dasgupta (1990, 227) observes that conflicts over language policy in India have included violence or coercion against political authority. In his case study of the state of Jammu and Kashmir in India, Warikoo (1996, 13) expresses surprise that the Kashmiri secessionist movement has focused on religion as a rallying factor rather than following the usual pattern of using language discrimination as common ground. Pattanaik (Undated, 1) cites ethnic identity of marginalized groups as a source of state instability, thus implying that anything leading to an ethnic group's perception of discrimination can lead to protest or rebellion or other conflict generated by that group. On the milder side, Laitin (1977, 107) mentions that language issues in Africa have been known to generate letters to newspapers, and Edwards (1985, 90) points out that "successful language planning...requires some acceptance from those whose linguistic repertoires are under discussion."

### **Language Policy**

Schiffman (1998, 11) decries the lack of comparative research in language policy literature, an opinion borne out by the present search for relevant literature. Most studies in this field have concentrated on one or a few countries and have employed the case study method. Invaluable as case studies can be, there has been little empirical cross-country research to coordinate case study results. Despite this disadvantage, an excellent

foundation for further study of language policy is found in Weinstein's (1983) review of the existing status of language as a political issue. His discussion covers, among other things, the development of language policy, language choices by individuals and the influence of language policy on participation and development. Heine (1990) analyzed language policies in Kenya and their relationship to sociolinguistic problems.

Generalizing to other countries in the region, Heine attributes a portion of the socioeconomic problems faced by African countries to sociolinguistic problems which can only be aggravated by continued discord between language policy and language use (Heine 1990, 167, 181). Several authors, including Koenig (1998), Kloss (1968) and Schiffman (1996), have produced typologies of language policy which are helpful in developing a language policy measurement for the present study.

### **Language Policy and Political Development or Political Regime**

Fierman's (1990) case study of Uzbekistan and Dasgupta's (1990) similar study of India provide insights into the relationship between language issues and political development. Koenig (1998) analyzed language conflicts in the Kyrgyz Republic, providing a structural explanation of language conflict and arguing that language policy that is multicultural in nature will be the most successful in maintaining the social integration needed for democratic governance (Koenig 1998, 2).

Grandguillaume (1990, 150) analyzed the effect of language policy in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia on the legitimacy of a political regime or political actions. He concluded that language policy actions which are taken to strengthen legitimacy may rather weaken it. As legitimacy depends on the public's perception of a regime, the

public's reaction to language policy would appear to be the intermediate player in this process. Bodomo (1996, 3) argues, based on his case study of language in Ghana, that successful development in its broadest sense (socio-cultural, political and economic) "can only be achieved through the use of the mother-tongues or the languages indigenous to the society."

### **Language Policy and Ethnic Conflict**

Rustow (1968, 105) uses several countries from his cross-polity study as examples for his argument that "government policy will be a major factor in solving or exacerbating existing problems of unity and disunity." Brass (1991) studied the development and implementation of language policy of India as compared to that in the Soviet Union and various European countries. Chaklader's (1990) study of the state of West Bengal in India (Chaklader 1990, 105) and Esman's (1990, 186, 200) analysis of the relationship between language policy and language use in Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines found direct implications for the present study in their conclusions that language policy in a state with ethnic minorities can either spark grievances or depoliticize language. Similarly, Laitin's (1977) case study of Somalia led him to conclude that language policy can either contribute to or detract from democratic participation and political equality.

### **Protest and Rebellion**

Linguistic heterogeneity as an independent variable has been measured by Banks and Textor (1968) and analyzed in various other cross-polity studies including that by

Fishman (1989), who found that linguistic heterogeneity did not appear to contribute significantly to civil strife (Fishman 1989, 605-26). More on target for the present study, Gurr's (1993) Minorities at Risk Project involved an analysis of protest and rebellion behavior by 233 politically active communal groups worldwide for the time period of 1945-89 against an extensive set of independent variables including composite variables for cultural differentials and cultural discrimination. These composite variables were derived from individual variables including, respectively and among other elements, the speaking of a language different from the dominant group and the existence of language restrictions in media and education. As the original Minorities at Risk study was the basis for an ongoing and regularly updated research project (University of Maryland 1999), it provides certain relevant data which will be discussed later in connection with the model presented in this study.

### **Language Attitudes and Language Use**

Fishman (1997,7-8) gathered statements of "positive ethnolinguistic consciousness" regarding 76 languages which were made within the last couple of centuries by speakers of those languages. He then proceeded to analyze the statements as they relate to various themes, including that of ethnic identity. His research provides a background for exploring the characteristics of language which might make language policy politically inflammatory. Based on a review of the literature concerning language use in Africa, Myers-Scotton (1990) discusses language strategy by elites for purposes of maintaining power. Language as government power is explored in Lutz's (1995) case

study of Indonesian language policy in East Timor and in Esman's (1990) study of southeast Asia.

To summarize, the literature to date has provided suggestive (albeit not conclusive) evidence that language is an important factor in ethnic conflict and that language policy can contribute to or help to prevent such conflict. What previous research has not provided is an empirical measurement of language policy and an analysis of the relationship between language policy and protest or rebellion.

## CHAPTER 3

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In order to build a theory of language policy, protest and rebellion, we must have a coherent understanding of what language policy is and how it relates to factors which are known contributors to protest and rebellion. Even before that, a discussion of language itself would seem to be an appropriate foundation for an understanding of language policy and an understanding of possible language-related bases for protest and rebellion. Edwards (1985, 17) is careful to note that "...there can be a distinction, within a language, between what I have called communicative and symbolic functions....The basic distinction here is between language in its ordinarily understood sense as a tool of communication, and language as an emblem of groupness, as a symbol, a rallying-point."

#### **Language as Identity and as Symbol**

"Language by which peoples express their values through epic poetry or contemporary song as well as through prose, journalism, and petty conversation is worth protecting in the view of most peoples. Protection of a script condemned by others as inefficient, a grammar [sic] seen by others as inconsistent, a sound system impossible for others to master, and a lexicon of archaisms – one or all link the individual with a tradition, a deity, a past, an identity, a community, and a future without which life has no meaning." (Weinstein 1983, 134-35)

This emotional impact of language is explained philosophically by Fishman (1997, 36-37): “Because the kinship link stretches from antiquity through the present into the distant future, the language that is associated with kinship becomes a bond and a bequest linking the generations....The beloved language is the ongoing extension, realization and implementation of that bond, stretching over time immemorial. Without it, it is implied, there could be no intergenerational continuity via early and proper socialization of the young. Without it, there would literally be no life worth living.” Schiffman (1996, 73) presents the Navajo people as the ultimate example of language loyalty due to beliefs about the role of language in the creation of the world: “For the Navajo, death of their language would obviously mean not only the death of Navajo culture but the destruction of the world. For the Navajo, language maintenance is equivalent to holding the world together and avoiding utter chaos.”

Fishman (1989, 32) expounds on the nature of language: “By its very nature language is the quintessential symbol, the symbol par excellence....All language ...refers to,...expresses, ...evokes ‘something’ in addition to itself. However, in the process of symbolizing it tends also to become valued in itself.” Warikoo (Undated, 1) refers to language as “the most potent cultural marker providing for group identity.” Edwards (1985, 283-4) agrees that “...language...is a highly visible marker of group identity; indeed, for many it is the essential marker....” but goes on to assert that “language is not always essential for continued identity....” He argues that language is used as a symbol of identity largely because it is such an easily available factor. Fishman (1989, 32) concurs: “Anything can become symbolic of ethnicity..., but since language is the prime



symbol system to begin with and since it is commonly relied upon so heavily...to enact, celebrate and 'call forth' all ethnic activity, the likelihood that it will be recognized and singled out as symbolic of ethnicity is great indeed." Laitin (1992, 93) remarks practically that "...the issue of language has too much symbolic power to be ignored by leaders seeking votes, popular support, or legitimacy."

Quite a few scholars argue that language is a matter of choice. Laitin (1992, 26) questions the inevitability of language ties, pointing out that people have been voluntarily adopting new cultural identities for centuries. Paul Brass (1974, 45) states that "...objective marks of group identity, such as language or religion, are not 'givens' from which group identities naturally spring, but are themselves subject to variation." Carol Eastman (1984, 260-61) argues similarly: "When we stop using the language of our ethnic group, only the language use aspect of our identity changes; the primordial sense of who we are and what group we think we belong to for the remainder remains intact." Laitin (1992, 52) explains some of the contradiction in this way: "People are willing to learn language other than their mother tongues as instruments for the fulfillment of economic or social goals. As the newly learned language(s) begin [sic] to replace the mother tongue in a widening circle of social domain, however, many people feel a sense of loss, of alienation from their roots, of betrayal."

Fishman (1989, 7), although an impassioned philosophical defender of vanishing languages, brings a certain closure to the debate over language-as-identity vs. language-as-choice with a down-to-earth statement that has direct implications for protest and rebellion. "The point is not whether ethnic boundaries and their link to language are real

or specious, genuine or created, valid or exaggerated, self-serving or altruistic, ethnocentric or objective, dividing or unifying. The point is that ethnicity is an inevitable dimension of aggregative definition and action as well as occasionally a deeply felt, a deeply moving and a deeply meaningful one.” Laitin (1992, 50) makes the same point: “Because symbols evoked by hearing one’s own (or a foreign) language have deep psychological resonance among constituents, politicians cannot be merely technocratic about its use. And because people feel that it matters, in an important way it does matter.” In relationship to protest and rebellion, a person’s reasons for holding a particular characteristic to be of value are not important; what is important is that a person who places great value on something is more likely to take action to defend it from a perceived threat.

### **Language Attitudes**

One result of the use of language as a symbol is the reaction of both insiders and outsiders to that symbol. Fishman (1989, 251) argues that “...languages are not liked or disliked in a vacuum, but rather liked or disliked as symbolic of values, of peoples, of ideologies, of behaviors.” A good example of this is Esman’s (1990, 190) finding that “Chinese [in Malaysia] regard Chinese medium education as a means of preserving Chinese culture; Malays regard it as a transparent means of evading the national language policy and as a potential source of dual loyalty and even of political subversion.” Lutz (1995, 4) describes the language policy of East Timor as being tied to education policy and in turn to security issues.

Language is not only linked directly to ethnic identity; it is also linked indirectly to ethnic identity through its link to other cultural characteristics. For example, Edwards (1985, 66), Laitin (1977, 89-96) and Ager (1996, 1) describe links between language and religion. Part of Grandguillaume's (1990) argument is that language is inextricably linked to other cultural references. His examples include the representation of Islamic Arab identity by the written form of Koranic Arabic; tribe and family identity by the oral maternal languages of the Berber language group and change, alternatives and modernity by the use of French (Grandguillaume 1990, 151-2). In the same vein, Schiffman (1996, 5) develops an argument "that language policy is ultimately grounded in linguistic culture, that is, the set of behaviours, assumptions, cultural forms, prejudices, folk belief systems, attitudes, stereotypes, ways of thinking about language, and religio-historical circumstances associated with a particular language" and points out (Schiffman 1996, 24) that linguistic and religious conflicts are each exacerbated by the other. A historical study of language policy in the United States led Leibowitz (1976, 463) to conclude that "decisions to impose English reflected the popular attitudes toward the particular ethnic group and....were always coupled with other discriminatory legislation and practices in other fields." Regarding protest and rebellion as responses to language policy, he argues (Leibowitz 1976, 473) that "it was the act of imposition itself which created the reaction by the minority group rather than the substantive effects of the policy." O'Barr (1976b, 7) refers in general terms to "grassroots mobilization which is in itself...a reaction to language policy."

If people's reactions to a particular language are based on their perception of what that language represents, perhaps actions by a state government which result in a particular language policy are based on similar perceptions. On the other side of the process, the reactions of linguistic minorities to language policies they consider restrictive are very likely to be based on the minority groups' perceptions of the belief systems which formed the language policy. Schiffman (1996, 22) argues that "...language policies do not evolve ex nihilo; they are not taken off a shelf, dusted off, and plugged into a particular polity; rather, they are cultural constructs, and are rooted in and evolve from historical elements of many kinds, some explicit and overt, some implicit and covert. It is in the covert areas that we need to seek the origins of the overt facets of a policy, not vice versa." An overt policy may have its roots in unwritten custom, and those roots can be recognized and either appreciated or resented by the linguistic minority.

### **Functions of Language Policy**

Language policy is often promoted by the state as an aid to communication; Weinstein (1983, 37) notes, however, that the state is not so much concerned with whether private citizens can communicate with each other as with whether the state can communicate its nonlinguistic policies to private citizens in a broad enough fashion to make its laws and regulations well known. Myers-Scotton (1990, 29) argues for another function of language policy, in that "Any language policy, almost by definition, is restrictive....[T]he function of policies is to designate. Language policies afford speakers of designated linguistic varieties potential mobility and meaningful participation in

government and the economy; that is, they designate the mobile.” As stated by Esman (1990, 185), “Official language choice ...reflects the relative status of competing language and by inference of the ethnic groups they represent...[and]...confers differential practical advantages or handicaps on ethnic groups and on their members in economic and educational competition.” These comments lead us to Weinstein’s definition of the politics of language (1983, 11) as “the relation between the distribution of language skills on the one hand and economic and political power and high status or prestige on the other in a society with more than one variety of language.” Bretton’s (1976, 435) conclusion is similar: “Language...serves to secure class advantages and maintain class distinctions.” Language policy, then, sets one of the parameters for the distribution of power. Leibowitz (1976, 449) states it clearly: “...language is primarily a means of control.”

### **Language Policy and Ethnic Group Relations**

Fishman (1968, 45) argues that “Language differences are not in themselves divisive. Mutual attitudes of linguistic groups help determine the effect of such differences.” Among several hypotheses set forth by Esman (1990, 186-7) are two which are particularly relevant to the question at hand: (1) “...in contemporary postcolonial states... language choices directly affect the terms of coexistence among ethnic groups and of relationships between them and the state” and (2) “those language regimes which reflect efforts to accommodate the sensitivities and aspirations of component ethnic groups are more likely to facilitate the emergence of political community.” (In the interest of consistency, it should be noted here that Esman’s use of

the term “language regimes” is equivalent to the general use of “language policy” and does not appear to match Pool’s (1990) definition of language regimes.) The intervening factor in the second hypothesis (Esman 1990, 200) is that “an accommodative language regime...can depoliticize language.” State and government policy “play a role in ethnic identity formation or decline and affect competition of ethnic group elites” (Brass 1991, 241). Varennes (1998, 277) speaks of “the unique position of language as a source of ethnic conflict” due to its economic and emotional links. Bretton (1976,445) observes that language issues can be used either to split or to unify the people of a state and concludes emphatically that “Language may then indeed be the most explosive issue universally and over time” (Bretton 1976, 447).

O’Barr (1976a, 21) is careful to emphasize that “Language merely symbolizes...regional cultural differences....[I]f language were not available...we suspect that another basis for regional politics would be found....The real issues are political, not linguistic; and their solutions must lie in the resolution of differentials in power relations.” In his cross-polity analysis, Fishman (1989, 622-3) concluded that linguistic heterogeneity does not in itself contribute significantly to civil strife but can be exploited to mobilize groups experiencing deprivation, authoritarianism and modernization, which appear to be the central contributors to such strife. Lutz (1995, 1) refers to language as part of the dynamics involved in government action against minority groups; if true, it would appear logical that action in the reverse direction is also influenced by language.

## **Language and Access**

“It is clear why blood is drawn over language in certain situations: language is the key, or the set of keys, needed to unlock the gates of access to survival kits – employment, advancement, social security, physical security” (Bretton 1976, 444). Closely linked to this idea of access is the perception of the intent to prevent access, a byproduct of what Myers-Scotton (1990, 25) calls “elite closure” and defines as “a strategy by which those persons in power maintain their powers and privileges via language choices.” Bretton (1976, 445) in turn supports this interpretation: “Language, rule, caste and class are part of a chain which secures positions of power and influence for some and excludes others.” Varennes (1998, 121) concurs: “By making language a predominant factor in access to employment and education opportunities...a government directly affects the political power structures of the state.” In their analysis of South African language policy, Reitzes and Crawhall (1998, 4) state that “Language rights are arguably the most important rights guaranteed by the Constitution, as the protection of equality, justice, access to information and state resources are largely dependent on communication in languages in which people are competent.” Weinstein (1983, 6) argues that the greatest potential for conflict arises when “a majority of the population uses one language in its spoken and possibly written forms for most of its daily activities while another language, unknown to the majority, is used for government.”

Weinstein (1983, 82) speaks of a broad concept of participation as including “sharing in the wealth and positive symbols of the society.” He summarizes the relationship of language and participation by saying that “Linguistic policy has the

potential to enlarge participation in power, wealth and prestige and to restrict it” and further argues that “...imposition of an unknown language can prevent people from participating in the most important activities in their own political system; it can reduce them to the passive objects of judicial and bureaucratic action without control over their material condition....Even if this prejudice never takes the form of discrimination, speakers of pariah tongues are not allowed to participate fully in the collective ownership of positively valued symbols” (Weinstein 1983, 14). Fardon and Furniss (1994, 17) note further that “Sponsorship of language by the state...may be especially [crucial] when the state...is often the major player in employment and the distribution of wealth....” Laitin (1977, 125) asserts that giving a foreign language official status can exacerbate urban/rural stratification. His argument suggests another indirect way in which language policy can affect participation.

### **Language Policy, Protest and Rebellion**

Gurr (1993, 126) claims that disadvantage, cultural differences and conflict all contribute to the formation and strength of group identity and vice versa. It follows then, that a group’s attachment to a particular language might be strengthened by restriction of its use or by restriction of access by means of language policy. Gurr (1993, 293) argues that access and/or autonomy are the most common major goals for communal groups whose issues involve cultural rights.

Weinstein (1983, 121) records several sources of language-based conflict. Three of these appear particularly relevant to the study of language policy and protest or rebellion:



- “[1.] The masses are ‘mobilized’ in that they are ready for new experiences in a world that they perceive as changing because they have moved to urban areas or because they became literate; but lacking the proper language skills, their aspirations are blocked....
- [2.] Attacks on language or denigration of language as a symbol threatens [sic] to deprive people of participation in respected values....
- [3.] Powerful groups endeavor to enforce conformity to their language, and resistance culminates in struggle and war.”

Here we have them: access, symbolism and, following those, resistance.

Language, then, is important not only in itself but as a symbol of other valued characteristics and as a means of access to socioeconomic benefits, individual justice and political participation. There appear to be at least three possible reasons why language conflict could produce or contribute to protest and rebellion. Although language is frequently an emotional issue, that characteristic does not preclude rational action.

Fishman (1997, 161) points out that “Cultures per se (and cultural identities and mobilizations in defense of such identities) are not rational blueprints....but nevertheless, the goals they pursue may be approached via rational thought and via rational means.”

Edwards (1985, 92) uses this logic when he attributes voluntary assimilation into a language majority to “pragmatic desires for social mobility and an improved standard of living.” If a linguistic minority behaves as a rational actor when choosing to merge with the majority, why should a different linguistic minority not be considered a rational actor when it chooses protest or rebellion instead? Pool (1990) discusses extensively the utility

of a choice of a particular language for purposes of communication; the same process can be applied to the choice of participating or not participating in protest or rebellion over language issues.

Discussing the importance of language in its own right, Weinstein (1983, 134) asserts that “Attacks on the dignity and status of a language are more than attacks on the economic and political aspirations of those who use them. They are attacks on the self-esteem of peoples.” In relation to language as a symbol, Brass (1991, 303) argues that mobilization around symbols and emotionally charged values is a major political and religious resource in a conflict with the controlling group(s). He also attributes (Brass 1991, 305) the highest potential for protest and rebellion to the access part of the equation: “It is when competition for scarce resources such as jobs or housing is linked to these different policies and when blame for scarcities can be attached to centralizers or decentralizers that linguistic nationalism is most likely to appear.” Bretton (1976, 444) links language-based protest and rebellion to public perception of language policy and the resulting “[f]ear of being barred from access to sources of wealth, or from employment, fear of having one’s children barred from the more prestigious – hence more rewarding – sources of income....” Laitin (1977, 11) continues this thought with his statement that “...it is jobs which give languages status....”

Williams (1984, 215), in his study of contributing factors to separatism, concludes:

“...[L]inguistic concerns are often central to ethnic political activity, especially separatism. Language is a means of mediating between the past

and the present; it is the repository of a group's collective identity, rooted in a national territory. Attempts to challenge this arrangement through state and private incursions often lead to reactive ethnic assertion....

[L]anguage promotion [is] not mere cultural attachment, but often a national and instrumental attempt to reduce socio-economic inequality, to wrest more power from the state and opposing groups, and to determine an increasing amount of the ethnic group's role in the wider political structure."

Williams (1984, 184-5) also speaks of separatism as being "a reactive response to the erosion of a minority's identity," of which language is a key part.

How does language get to be a political issue? Weinstein (1983, 62) argues that it is by the influence of "[w]riters, translators, poets, missionaries, publishers, and dictionary makers" or, as he terms them, "cultural elites." Brass (1974, 45) contends that "...political organizations do not simply reflect or transmit communal demands...[but]... shape group consciousness by manipulating symbols of group identity to achieve power for their group." As discussed above, if language is a symbol of group identity, then it can and will be used by political organizations to promote group cohesiveness. Another way in which language becomes a political issue is as a response to government language policy. "...[C]entralizing policies which involve also central intervention in regional politics may precipitate strong regional reactions from language communities and demands for regional autonomy and even secession" (Brass 1991, 305-6).

Fierman's (1990, 219) case study links language to legitimacy, both directly and indirectly through identity, distribution and participation. He concludes that a central factor is a regime's willingness to address the issue of participation as related to language. Responsiveness to language issues by the creation of a language policy allowing for a certain level of participation by linguistic minorities would appear, then, to bolster a regime's legitimacy and thus reduce the likelihood of language-based protest and rebellion. In his study of democratic development, Dasgupta (1990, 237) concluded that language policy can contribute to social transformation by affirming the democratic rights of lower social levels. The other side of the coin would be that language policy can aggravate stratification by restricting the political access of lower social levels. Both situations are demonstrated by Laitin's (1992, 15) analysis of four African countries.

While concentrating more on the use of language policy to produce a given outcome of language use within a country, Laitin (1992, 69) argues that the language outcome of a particular country is ultimately dependent upon the language choices of individuals. By extension, the choice to retain and protect a particular native language can lead to protest and rebellion. The challenge which remains is that of finding the link between the language policy of a country and the choice of a group composed of minority individuals to engage in some form of action in an attempt to influence that policy.

## CHAPTER 4

### HYPOTHESES AND SUMMARY OF MODEL

#### **Hypotheses**

While there are many variables that have been found by previous researchers to be contributory factors to protest and rebellion, the present study concentrates on language policy. This research is an exploratory analysis designed to determine whether in fact a relationship exists between language policy and protest or rebellion. Once that question has been answered, future research in this area will need to take into account variables that have been shown to have a strong relationship with protest and/or rebellion.

Given that differential treatment of minority groups by a government has been shown to have an effect on protest and rebellion, and given that language has proved to be a highly emotional issue, four hypotheses are presented for study:

- (1) Minority groups whose languages have a more restricted status under their country's language policy will demonstrate higher protest and rebellion scores; conversely, those with a more protected language status will demonstrate lower protest and rebellion scores.
- (2) Countries with more restrictive language policies will have higher protest and rebellion scores, and vice versa.

- (3) Groups whose language status varies negatively from their country's standard policy toward minority languages will have higher protest and rebellion scores, and vice versa.
- (4) Countries whose language policies have a higher internal variation in their language provisions will be associated with higher protest and rebellion scores, and vice versa.

### **Definitions**

The independent variable for the present study is language policy as set forth in the constitution of a country ("constitutional language policy"). This is one component of overt language policy, others being international treaties; federal laws; state or provincial constitutions; state, regional or provincial laws and local laws. Analyzing constitutional language policy takes advantage of cross-national data already compiled by Fernand de Varennes (1998). It also provides a basis for future research on the influence of international treaties, for which data are available from the same source, and on the effect of the other types of laws listed above. Although constitutional provisions are not necessarily carried out in practice, the study of a wide range of countries should provide a balanced set of data including countries whose practices are more restrictive with respect to language groups than their constitutional policies indicate and countries whose practices are more promotive than demonstrated by constitutional provisions.

The full scope of political action is outlined by Weiner's (1971, 164) definition of political participation as "any voluntary action...intended to influence the choice of public policies, the administration of public affairs, or the choice of political

leaders...participation is defined as action, including verbal action....” Political action specific to this research are protest and rebellion by politicized minority groups as coded in the Minorities at Risk Project (University of Maryland 1999; Gurr 1993). In order to be included in the Minorities at Risk study, a group must meet two criteria: it “collectively suffers, or benefits from, systematic discriminatory treatment vis-à-vis other groups in a society” and/or “is the basis for political mobilization and collective action in defense or promotion of its self-defined interests.” (University of Maryland 1999, groups.html)

### **Measuring Language Policy**

Can language policy be measured? A meaningful measurement must involve the classification of language policy in some manner relevant to known determinants of protest and rebellion. Previous research has linked language issues to transfer of cultural identity from one generation to another, access to better employment and access to judicial and administrative systems. Language policy measurement, then, should be conducted from the angles which best fit those particular functions of language.

Education and administration are the most often mentioned. Both Edwards (1985, 118-19) and Fishman (1997) observe that although education in a mother tongue does not necessarily contribute to the preservation of that particular language and may in fact contribute rather to the process of linguistic assimilation, education is often perceived as a central factor in maintaining group identity and therefore has a strong symbolic role for linguistic minorities. Bretton (1976, 445) and Chaklader (1990, 94) link choice of language for education to choice of language for courts. Varennes (1998, 158) perceives

“great potential for destabilisation” in the denial of native-language education. Some language policies cover broadcast and publishing media. Others include special language requirements for government employment or certain professions.

Three constitutional language policy areas are examined as separate country variables: administrative/ judicial, education, and general. Status of minority group languages under these policies is measured by corresponding group variables. Part of the purpose of the present research is to establish a language policy data set that can be supplemented with data analyzed in future studies. Language policy is coded by means of scales for each variable ranging from +4 to -4 in value, with the positive side of the scale representing the protective or promotive character of a policy toward minority languages, the negative side representing the policy’s restrictiveness and a value of 0 representing the absence of a constitutional policy.

Brass (1974, 10-11) distinguishes between integrative and pluralistic policies, the former involving assimilation of minorities into a common cultural identity and the latter reflecting recognition of the various cultural groups within a state. Weinstein (1983, 83) describes four ways in which language policy can negatively affect linguistic minorities: (1) denial of the opportunity to learn their mother tongue, the country’s official language or a world language; (2) exclusion of a particular language group from participation; (3) requirement of arbitrarily chosen languages for employment or licensing and (4) use of largely unknown languages for community and governmental affairs. Kloss (1968, 79) suggests a set of typologies including a juridical typology. He classifies juridical status as (1) sole official language, (2) coequal official language, (3) regional or provincial



official language, (3) de facto promotion or support by various levels of government, (4) neither promoted nor restricted and (5) forbidden. Not surprisingly, a preliminary review of the constitutional language provisions in the selected data source indicates that there are at least three levels of endorsed languages: (1) “official;” (2) “native,” “indigenous,” “vernacular” or some similar term and (3) “link” or “communication” languages.

Drawing conclusions as to what level of tolerance or protection of minority languages is desirable or feasible while conducting government business in a practical manner would be outside the scope of this study, but language policy can be ranked fairly objectively by the extent to which it restricts or promotes minority language use and the extent to which it restricts access to society’s benefits through the use of native language requirements. Varennes’ (1996) discussion of language rights provides a substantial basis for several of the assumptions behind the ranking in the language policy scales. A review of the policies provides further details. As part of the process of developing the scales, several language policies which appeared simple and several policies which appeared complex were coded for country and group variables and the scales were adapted as appropriate.

The most severe restriction of language use is the proscription of even private usage of a particular language. Such severity is rare in constitutional policy but is sometimes enacted as law (e.g. Varennes 1996, 49, 164), thus exemplifying one direction for future research. However, a constitution may provide specifically that languages may be banned by law. Varennes (1996, 15) also cites several instances where the teaching or

classroom use of certain languages has been forbidden by law. Language prohibitions have been placed at the lower end of each language policy scale, allowing easy future comparison with laws at or below the national level. At the other end of the spectrum are language rights guarantees, which again are not all that common. Coding this level of protection as the highest score not only accounts for the most extreme level of language protection found in the present research but also provides for convenient later comparison with international law and treaties, where such provisions are more often found.

It is crucial to distinguish between government requirements regarding the use of an official language and government restrictions on the use of a minority language. The two are not the same; the latter are scaled at a lower level because they represent a more severe restriction of personal freedom and of access to the benefits of society. Varennes (1996, 44, 159) discusses the distinction between public and private use of language, with provision of government services falling in the public area and private matters including printed media, entertainment and private organizational activities. Each language policy scale has been constructed with this distinction in mind. Policies concerning private activities have by nature a more personal impact than those regarding public matters, and would appear more likely to generate resistance. Sometimes the distinction is a little fuzzy. For example, public and private spheres overlap in the choice of personal names. Names are private, yet the recording of names in the form of birth records is a public matter. Some governments have placed language restrictions on personal names (Varennes 1996: 159-62). Place names are not as personal but demonstrate another area in which governments may move beyond language requirements for public areas and

prohibit the use of non-official languages for place names used by private individuals or organizations.

Varennnes (1996, 174) refers to the provision of a court interpreter as being included in “generally recognized human rights.” This type of provision is coded at a minimum level on the positive side of the scale. As the right is more often provided in criminal proceedings, the right to have an interpreter or use a native language in civil and/or administrative proceedings are assigned a higher value.

The Language Policy Country Data Form and the Group Language Status Data Form (Appendix A) were used to code language policy from the constitutional excerpts in Varennnes’ (1998) compilation. Each form is divided into a general information section and a section for each language policy variable. Language policy of each country, and then the effect of that language policy on each politicized minority group in that country, are ranked on each of the three language policy variables. The group scale is slightly different from the country scale in order to allow ranking for the level of recognition of each minority language. This procedure allows for the frequent cases where one minority language holds a different status from another. Once language policy and language status variables were coded, additional variables were calculated based on the difference between each group’s language status score and the country language policy score (“group differential”) and on the difference between the highest and lowest group language policy scores within a country (“country differential”).

The coding for the language policy scale was designed on the following summary basis:

<u>Score</u>	<u>Provision for Minority Languages</u>
4	Promotive
3	Very protective
2	Somewhat protective
1	Minimally protective
0	No provision / To be determined by law
-1	Minimally restrictive
-2	Somewhat restrictive
-3	Very restrictive
-4	Punitive

Each variable was coded using the following specific guidelines:

#### Language Policy for Administrative/Judicial Matters

<u>Score</u>	<u>Description</u>
4	Allows use of native language for all court proceedings
3	Provides for use of native language in local areas where language is prevalent and/or provides for interpretation in both civil and criminal cases
2	Allows use of native language for federal agency proceedings
1	Provides for interpretation of charges and trial in criminal cases
0	No provision / To be determined by law
-1	Permits use of native language in court by foreigners only
-2	Limits legislative positions to native speakers of official language
-3	Limits voting rights to native speakers of official language
-4	Forbids use of specific language(s) or of language(s) prohibited by law

#### Language Policy for Educational Matters

<u>Score</u>	<u>Description</u>
4	Provides for teaching of native language at all levels or as an open-ended right
3	Provides for teaching of native language through secondary level or for teaching of any language in public and private education
2	Provides for teaching of native language through primary level or as a general right subject to national interest
1	Allows teaching of native language on temporary basis only or protects rights under existing law or custom
0	No provision / To be determined by law
-1	Allows teaching of native language to immigrants only
-2	Limits education to official language(s)
-3	Teaching of specific language(s) is forbidden
-4	Use of specific language(s) is forbidden

#### Language Policy for General Matters

<u>Score</u>	<u>Description</u>
4	Requires minimum amount of publication/broadcast in minority languages, declares all languages and alphabets equal and/or requires labor and private organizations to protect language rights
3	Requires federal/local laws to protect language rights or designates multiple official and/or national languages
2	Provides for regional languages and/or prescribes use of native language for local community events and/or personal names
1	Prohibits civil rights, human rights or employment discrimination
0	No provision / To be determined by law
-1	Requires use of official language for place names
-2	Requires use of official language in workplace and/or limits entrance to certain professions to native speakers of official language
-3	Forbids use of specific language(s) or of language(s) prohibited by law in public areas or in print, recording or broadcast media and/or requires use of official language for personal names
-4	Forbids use of specific language(s) or of language(s) prohibited by law in private areas

Each group's language status under its country's constitutional policy is coded as:

<u>Score</u>	<u>Group Language Status</u>
4	Official
3	Highly favored
2	Somewhat favored
1	Allowed
0	No provision / To be determined by law
-1	Minimally restricted
-2	Somewhat restricted
-3	Highly restricted
-4	Forbidden

Detail for each category is as follows:

#### Group Language Status Regarding Administrative/Judicial Matters

<u>Score</u>	<u>Description</u>
4	Either (a) group's language is official language for all court proceedings or (b) use of native language is allowed for all court proceedings
3	Either (a) policy provides for use of native language if prevalent in local area or (b) interpretation is required in both civil and criminal cases
2	Use of native language is allowed for federal agency proceedings
1	Interpretation of charges and trial in criminal cases is required
0	No provision / To be determined by law

#### Group Language Status Regarding Administrative/Judicial Matters

<u>Score</u>	<u>Description</u>
-1	Use of native language in court is allowed for foreigners only
-2	Legislative positions are limited to native speakers of official language, and group's language is not official language
-3	Voting rights are limited to native speakers of official language, and group's language is not official language
-4	Use of group's language(s) is forbidden

#### Group Language Status Regarding Educational Matters

<u>Score</u>	<u>Description</u>
4	Either (a) policy provides for teaching of native language at all levels or as an open-ended right, or (b) group's language is official language for education at all levels
3	Either (a) policy provides for teaching of native language through secondary level or for teaching of any language in public and private education or (b) group's language is official language for education at secondary level
2	Either (a) policy provides for teaching of native language through primary level or as a general right subject to national interest or (b) group's language is official language for education at secondary level
1	Teaching of native language is allowed on temporary basis only, or rights are protected under existing law or custom, and group's language is not official language for education at any level
0	No provision / To be determined by law
-1	Native language teaching is allowed for immigrants only
-2	Education is given only in official language(s), and group's language is not official language
-3	Teaching of group's language(s) is forbidden
-4	Use of group's language(s) is forbidden

#### Group Language Status Regarding General Matters

<u>Score</u>	<u>Description</u>
4	Either (a) group's language is official language or (b) policy requires minimum amount of publication/broadcast in minority languages, declares all languages and alphabets equal and/or requires labor and private organizations to protect language rights
3	Either (a) federal/local laws are required to protect language rights or (b) group is one of multiple official and/or national languages
2	Either (a) policy prescribes use of native language for local community events and/or personal names or (b) group's language is designated as a regional language
1	Civil rights, human rights or employment discrimination is prohibited
0	No provision / To be determined by law

#### Group Language Status Regarding General Matters

Score	Description
-1	Official language is required for place names, and group's language is not official language
-2	Official language is required in workplace and/or entrance to certain professions is limited to native speakers of official language, and group's language is not official language
-3	Either (a) Use of group's language(s) is prohibited by law in public areas or in print, recording or broadcast media, or (b) use of official language is required for personal names and group's language is not official language
-4	Use of group's language(s) is prohibited by law in private areas

It is important here to give careful consideration to exactly what facets of language policy are being measured and what can be learned from them. The variations in language policy under study are the difference between one country's language policy and another and the difference between the impact of a particular country's language policy on one group from the impact of that policy on another group in the same country.

#### **Measuring Protest and Rebellion**

The dependent variables studied are the protest and rebellion measures from the Minorities at Risk study (University of Maryland 1999; Gurr 1993). Both variables reflect the highest level of political action in that particular category by members of a politically mobilized group "on behalf of the group's interests and directed against those who claim to exercise authority over the group" (University of Maryland 1999). Protest and rebellion accounts were compiled by Minorities at Risk researchers from news items and expert reports. Coding for these variables is as follows:

#### Protest

<u>Score</u>	<u>Description</u>
0	none reported
1	verbal opposition (public letters, petitions, posters, publications, agitation, etc.)
2	scattered acts of symbolic resistance (e.g. sit-ins, blockage of traffic), sabotage, symbolic destruction of property
3	political organizing activity on a substantial scale
4	a few demonstrations, rallies, strikes, and/or riots, total participation less than 10,000
5	demonstrations, rallies, strikes, and/or riots, total participation estimated between 10,000 and 100,000
6	demonstrations, rallies, strikes, and/or riots, total participation over 100,000
99	no basis for judging

#### Rebellion

<u>Score</u>	<u>Description</u>
0	none reported
1	political banditry, sporadic terrorism
2	campaigns of terrorism
3	local rebellions: armed attempts to seize power in a locale. If they prove to be the opening round in what becomes a protracted guerrilla or civil war during the year being coded, code the latter rather than local rebellion
4	small-scale guerrilla activity, which includes all these three traits: --fewer than 1000 armed fighters --sporadic armed attacks (less than 6 reported per year) --attacks in a small part of the area occupied by the group, or in one or two other locales)
5	intermediate-scale guerrilla activity, which has one or two of the defining traits of large-scale activity and one or two of the defining traits of small-scale activity
6	large-scale guerrilla activity, which has all these traits: --more than 1000 armed fighters --frequent armed attacks (more than 6 reported per year) --attacks affecting a large part of the area occupied by the group
7	protracted civil war, fought by rebel military units with base areas
99	no basis for judging

(University of Maryland 1999)

The groups involved are what Gurr (1993, 3) terms “communal groups...groups whose core members share a distinctive and enduring collective identity based on cultural traits and lifeways that matter to them and to others with whom they interact.” He names language as one of the several bases for identity. Not only are they communal groups, but they are politicized communal groups – those who either “experience economic or



political discrimination” or “have taken political action in support of collective interests” or both (Gurr 1993, 5-6).

Some important caveats must be considered in regard to the use of Minorities at Risk data. First, multiple language groups are lumped together as needed to meet the minimum group size of 100,000 or 1% of the country’s population or if (in the opinion of the researchers) they are regarded and treated by the dominant majority as one group. This does not allow for convenient analysis of a language within the group which is of different status from other native languages within the group. (Although the Minorities at Risk criterion was revised while the present study was in progress from a 1995 population of 1 million to a 1998 population of 500,000, the original criterion was kept for purposes of this study.) Second, refugees and recent immigrants are not included. There has been considerable study on language issues as they apply to immigrants (e.g. Edwards 1984b; Reitzes and Crawhall 1998); language issues such as education would also apply to refugees. However, refugees and new immigrants are not citizens; they certainly have options in the area of political action, including protest and rebellion, but are apt to be restrained in their choices due to the fact that they are in a particular country on sufferance and are subject to deportation at the whim of the host government.

In spite of the reservations just outlined, I made the decision to use the Minorities at Risk data for two reasons. First, the Minorities at Risk Project appears to be the only piece of large-scale cross-country research on political action that focuses on adversarial action (protest and rebellion) directed specifically toward the state by minority groups. This focus eliminates protest and rebellion unrelated to minority issues, which is

important because language is a minority issue, and eliminates intergroup conflict, which is a valid area for future research but is not the focus of the present study. Second, data covering a large span of time periods are available and should continue to become available, producing the expectation that the Minorities at Risk data set is a stable source for future study. The Minorities at Risk Project covers more recent time periods than other cross-country domestic conflict studies; certain of these overlap with the periods for which constitutional language policy data are available from the proposed source.

### **Intervening Variables**

Since language can be used as an identifying factor for racial or ethnic discrimination rather than language-specific discrimination, other cultural variables from the Minorities at Risk data set were analyzed. The most obvious of these is the language difference variable, because the extent of a group's language ties may help determine the level of protest or rebellion produced in connection with language policy. Others are whether the group has different social customs from mainstream society, level of difference in religious belief and extent of racial difference. These variables have been coded as follows:

#### **Difference in Language**

<u>Score</u>	<u>Description</u>
1	Group members speak a common language or dialect.
2	Group members speak multiple languages or dialects.
3	Group members have undergone significant linguistic assimilation.

(University of Maryland 1999)

#### Difference in Customs

<u>Score</u>	<u>Description</u>
0	No - Social customs are no different from mainstream society.
1	Yes – Social customs are different.

(University of Maryland 1999)

#### Difference in Belief

<u>Score</u>	<u>Description</u>
1	Group is a different sect within the same religion as the dominant group.
2	Group includes multiple sects, some different from the dominant group.
3	Group is of a different religion from the dominant group.

(University of Maryland 1999)

#### Difference in Race

<u>Score</u>	<u>Description</u>
1	Group is of same racial stock as the dominant group but is a physically distinguishable subtype.
2	Group is of different racial stock from the dominant group, with significant intermixture.
3	Group is of different racial stock, with little or no intermixture.

(University of Maryland 1999)

### **Levels of Measurement**

Possible levels of measurement include group and country. Language policy data are based on constitutional documents of each nation-state; protest and rebellion data are available on a group basis. In order to take advantage of both levels of study, data were measured at both levels. State language policy was coded both in general and as it relates to specific groups for which protest and rebellion data are available in the Minorities at Risk study. Subsequently, the highest protest and rebellion measurements for the groups in a particular country were coded as country-based variables so that both cross-group and cross-country analyses could be performed. As the groups in the Minorities at Risk study are broken down into categories, group analyses were conducted on each group type. The link between country and group data which enables coding of group language

status is the native language of each group. This factor was obtained as much as possible from the group summaries that form part of the background information for the Minorities at Risk project, and as needed from the Ethnologue database (SIL 1999), a linguistic reference source.

### **Case Selection**

As is frequently the rule, the variable definitions and data sources chosen define the boundaries of the possible cases for this study. To allow for ten year-by-year comparisons of language policy, protest and rebellion, and to better prepare the groundwork for a future time series study, protest and rebellion variables which are available on an annual basis are used. The first phase of the Minorities at Risk (“MAR”) Project involved five-year breakpoints, but the second phase, covering the years 1985 to 1994, used annual data. All countries are included which were in existence during all years chosen for analysis, meet the Minorities at Risk population criterion, have a formal constitution as part of their governmental system and had a stable language policy (or absence thereof) for the years 1984 to 1993. The one-year lag between language policy and protest and rebellion data accounts for the fact that a constitution or a constitutional amendment could have taken effect at any time during the year and would not provide a meaningful same-year comparison.

### **Statistical Model**

The country-level variables include the following variables for each year studied:

Country language policy score for administration

Country language policy score for education

Country language policy score for general matters

Country protest score, equal to the highest group protest score within the  
country

Country rebellion score, equal to the highest group rebellion score within  
the country

Country language policy differential for administrative language policy,  
calculated as the difference between the highest and lowest group  
language status scores within the country

Country language policy differential for educational language policy,  
calculated as above

Country language policy differential for general language policy,  
calculated as above

The group-level variables include the following annual scores:

Group language status under language policy for administration

Group language status under language policy for education

Group language status under language policy for general matters

Group differential for administrative language policy, calculated as the  
difference between group language status and the language status  
of minority groups in general under that particular language policy

Group differential for education, calculated as above

Group differential for other matters, calculated as above

Group protest score

Group rebellion score

and the following general variables:

Difference in language as compared to dominant group

Difference in social customs as compared to dominant group

Difference in religion as compared to dominant group

Difference in race as compared to dominant group

The protest and rebellion data vary annually, while the language policy data are static for each country across the ten years studied. The statistical component of this research consists of various sets, as outlined in the next chapter, of ten separate cross-section analyses using linear regression – one for each of the years 1985-94 of the protest and rebellion data compared against years 1984-93 of the language policy data.

Conducting multiple analyses should give some idea of whether the effect of language policy on protest and rebellion is stable over time when the language policy is the same.

While groups are treated as independent cases, as one of the basic regression assumptions, it must be pointed out that groups within a country are connected by virtue of being subject to the same policy. Coding group language status separately from group language policy addresses this to an extent by separating the effect of a country's policy on one group from the effect of the same policy on another group, but there is no denying that all groups in a country may be similarly affected by the manner in which a country carries out its policies.

## CHAPTER 5

### ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

The statistical analysis involved seven stages: (1) determining the language(s) applicable to each group, or the fact that the group speaks multiple languages; (2) coding language policy to produce the country language policy and group language status variables; (3) adapting the Minorities at Risk data set to include all language policy variables, protest and rebellion variables and tracking variables required for the present study; (4) selecting the relevant cases; (5) entering the values for the coded variables into the data set; (6) calculating the variables designed to be computed from the newly coded language policy variables or from the existing protest and rebellion variables and (7) running the regression analyses. The order described may appear slightly irregular, in that the case selection was not the first step, but the sequence was chosen deliberately. Coding the language policy variables for all countries with final constitutional provisions listed by Varennes (1998) and determining the appropriate group languages at the beginning, rather than selecting cases first and coding only those countries, provides a base of constitutional language policy variables for future study. Likewise, adding all language policy variables to the data set before creating a smaller data set with the selected cases allows for easier use of the full data set later.

### **Coding and Data Entry**

The appropriate language for each group was determined by reviewing the group summaries provided as background to the Minorities at Risk data set. Where language information was not included in these summaries, the Ethnologue data set (SIL 1999) was consulted. Where neither source indicated a separate language, the group was assigned an official language that appeared appropriate from the background information in the group summaries. For example, Blacks in Venezuela were assigned Spanish, as the group is defined as an ethnoclass and there is no indication of a language difference. Language policy as set forth in the final constitutional provisions (and not the draft provisions) compiled by Varennes (1998) was coded on a country basis; each group's status under that policy was then coded. As the exercise progressed, it became clear that a much more efficient design for future studies of this type would be to use a country coding list as a guideline and fill in a line on a spreadsheet form for each country's coding, and to use a similar procedure for group language status.

Language policy variables were added to the design of the Minorities at Risk data set for the ten years under study. (The April 1999 version of the data set was used for the present study; at least one newer version was released while this study was in progress.) Variables added include constitutional language policy regarding administrative and judicial matters, educational matters and general matters; each group's status under constitutional language policy for each area listed above; group/country differential, to be calculated as the group language status less the constitutional language policy for the appropriate country; the range of group status within each country, to be computed as the



difference between the highest and lowest group language status variables for each area. Index variables to be calculated as the sum of the three specific variables were also added for each of the variable groups listed above. Two sets of protest and rebellion variables were added: country-level protest and country-level rebellion, to be represented by the highest level of protest and the highest level of rebellion among the groups in each country.

Case selection was implemented by (1) adding countries to the existing data set that met the population criteria for the Minorities at Risk study in the particular version of the data set used (1 million in 1995, as distinguished from the recently revised criterion of 500,000 in 1998) but were not included in the Minorities at Risk study due to the absence of politicized minority groups and (2) choosing only those countries whose constitutions (a) became effective or were amended during or before the first year of the chosen ten-year language provision period (1984-93) and (b) were not amended for language provisions during the remainder of that ten-year period. Country identification numbers were assigned to the countries added, to conform the new entries to the existing countries in the data set. Constitutional information for countries without language policy provisions (and therefore not listed in the primary data source) was obtained from the international constitutional law web site of the University of Wuerzburg (1999). Names of countries not in either existing data source were found in *The Statesman's Yearbook* 1989-90 (Paxton 1989); the existence of a constitution was verified with the same source as needed. Population statistics were obtained from the International Data Base of the

U.S. Census Bureau (1999). The final data set contains 70 countries and 151 politicized group cases as listed in Appendix B.

### **Review of Expectations**

Based on the hypotheses stated in the previous chapter, the relationships expected from this study can be summarized as follows:

1. a negative relationship between group language status on the one hand and protest and rebellion on the other;
2. a negative relationship between country language policy score and protest and rebellion;
3. a negative relationship between group language status differential and protest and rebellion; and
4. a positive relationship between country language status differential and protest and rebellion.

### **Statistical Analysis and Results**

As a test of the first hypothesis, namely that protest and rebellion are related negatively to favorable group language status, the first set of linear regressions measured the relationship of each group's status under the language policy variables for each year (1984-93) and the protest variable for each corresponding year (1985-94); group language status indices and protest; group language status variables and rebellion, and group language status indices and rebellion. The results, summarized in Tables 1 and 2, indicate a positive relationship, rather than the expected negative relationship, between

group language status index and protest and between group language status and rebellion for most of the time periods analyzed. If this positive relationship had been what was expected, the results would be significant, albeit with low beta values and r-squared measures. Based on these linear regression analyses, I must reject the first hypothesis.

<b>TABLE 1      Group Language Status and Group Protest – Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics					Model Statistics	
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Group Language Status 1984 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1985	-.060	-.079	.543	.000	.388
Group Language Status 1984 – Education		.997	.131	.291		
Group Language Status 1984 – General		.060	.080	.631		
Group Language Status 1984 – Index	Protest 1985	.033	.117	.156	.007	.156
Group Language Status 1985 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1986	-.082	-.108	.405	-.001	.222
Group Language Status 1985 – Education		.113	.151	.223		
Group Language Status 1985 – General		.084	.112	.379		
Group Language Status 1985 – Index	Protest 1986	.038	.137	.096	.012	.096
Group Language Status 1986 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1987	-.038	-.500	.698	.010	.257
Group Language Status 1986 – Education		.117	.156	.207		
Group Language Status 1986 – General		.043	.057	.652		
Group Language Status 1986 – Index	Protest 1987	.041	.145	.077	.014	.077
Group Language Status 1987 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1988	.086	.100	.446	.007	.568
Group Language Status 1987 – Education		.067	.078	.529		
Group Language Status 1987 – General		-.065	-.075	.557		
Group Language Status 1987 – Index	Protest 1988	.030	.092	.263	.002	.263
Group Language Status 1988 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1989	-.054	-.072	.578	.010	.217
Group Language Status 1988 – Education		.039	.053	.667		
Group Language Status 1988 – General		.135	.182	.153		
Group Language Status 1988 – Index	Protest 1989	.040	.145	.077	.014	.077
Group Language Status 1989 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1990	.133	.148	.252	.016	.146
Group Language Status 1989 – Education		.024	.027	.827		
Group Language Status 1989 – General		.026	.029	.821		
Group Language Status 1989 – Index	Protest 1990	.061	.183	.025	.027	.025
Group Language Status 1990 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1991	.009	.011	.935	.011	.203
Group Language Status 1990 – Education		.004	.048	.696		
Group Language Status 1990 – General		.115	.132	.300		
Group Language Status 1990 – Index	Protest 1991	.055	.170	.038	.022	.038
Group Language Status 1991 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1992	-.155	-.179	.158	.063	.006
Group Language Status 1991 – Education		.223	.259	.032		
Group Language Status 1991 – General		.151	.175	.158		
Group Language Status 1991 – Index	Protest 1992	.073	.226	.006	.045	.006
Group Language Status 1992 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1993	-.081	-.092	.471	.049	.017
Group Language Status 1992 – Education		.124	.143	.238		
Group Language Status 1992 – General		.184	.210	.093		

<b>TABLE 1      Group Language Status and Group Protest – Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics					Model Statistics	
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Group Language Status 1992 – Index	Protest 1993	.076	.233	.004	.048	.004
Group Language Status 1993 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1994	-.087	-.106	.410	.027	.073
Group Language Status 1993 – Education		.187	.230	.061		
Group Language Status 1993 – General		.059	.072	.569		
Group Language Status 1993 – Index	Protest 1994	.053	.173	.035	.023	.035
Number of cases = 151				Significance: *.10   **,.05   ***.01		

<b>TABLE 2      Group Language Status and Group Rebellion - Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics					Model Statistics	
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Group Language Status 1984 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1985	.229	.194	.136	.009	.231
Group Language Status 1984 – Educational		-.043	-.037	.763		
Group Language Status 1984 – General		-.033	.000	.998		
Group Language Status 1984 – Index	Rebellion 1985	.062	.141	.083	.013	.083
Group Language Status 1985 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1986	.222	.194	.135	.008	.240
Group Language Status 1985 – Educational		-.044	-.039	.749		
Group Language Status 1985 – General		-.002	-.002	.987		
Group Language Status 1985 – Index	Rebellion 1986	.058	.138	.090	.013	.090
Group Language Status 1986 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1987	.160	.141	.275	.01	.221
Group Language Status 1986 – Educational		-.038	-.034	.783		
Group Language Status 1986 – General		.075	.067	.599		
Group Language Status 1986 – Index	Rebellion 1987	.066	.157	.054	.018	.054
Group Language Status 1987 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1988	.137	.123	.345	-.002	.438
Group Language Status 1987 – Educational		-.070	-.064	.608		
Group Language Status 1987 – General		.072	.065	.611		
Group Language Status 1987 – Index	Rebellion 1988	.046	.112	.169	.006	.169
Group Language Status 1988 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1989	.123	.103	.428	.007	.256
Group Language Status 1988 – Educational		-.058	-.049	.689		
Group Language Status 1988 – General		.131	.111	.383		
Group Language Status 1988 – Index	Rebellion 1989	.065	.148	.070	.015	.070
Group Language Status 1989 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1990	.296	.238	.066	.026	.079
Group Language Status 1989 – Educational		-.153	-.125	.309		
Group Language Status 1989 – General		.078	.063	.617		
Group Language Status 1989 – Index	Rebellion 1990	.073	.160	.050	.019	.050
Group Language Status 1990 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1991	.205	.159	.218	.014	.170
Group Language Status 1990 – Educational		-.131	-.104	.400		
Group Language Status 1990 – General		.136	.106	.400		
Group Language Status 1990 – Index	Rebellion 1991	.070	.147	.072	.015	.072
Group Language Status 1991 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1992	.145	.123	.347	-.005	.529
Group Language Status 1991 – Educational		-.107	-.092	.460		
Group Language Status 1991 – General		.074	.063	.619		

<b>TABLE 2      Group Language Status and Group Rebellion - Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics				Model Statistics		
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Group Language Status 1991 – Index	Rebellion 1992	.037	.086	.294	.001	.294
Group Language Status 1992 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1993	.142	.124	.341	-.004	.495
Group Language Status 1992 – Educational		-.076	-.067	.588		
Group Language Status 1992 – General		.063	.055	.664		
Group Language Status 1992 – Index	Rebellion 1993	.043	.102	.213	.004	.213
Group Language Status 1993 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1994	.085	.074	.570	-.010	.669
Group Language Status 1993 – Educational		-.075	-.066	.597		
Group Language Status 1993 – General		.090	.079	.538		
Group Language Status 1993 – Index	Rebellion 1994	.034	.079	.335	.000	.335
Number of cases = 151		Significance: *.10    **.05    ***.01				

The second hypothesis meets with a similar fate. As summarized in Tables 3 and 4, language policy indices demonstrate a positive relationship with protest, rather than the expected negative relationship, in all ten pairs of years studied. The results also show a positive relationship between educational language policy and protest in nearly all instances, a positive relationship between general language policy and protest in half the periods studied and a positive relationship between general language policy and rebellion in just under half the periods. Again, these would be statistically significant if the positive relationship had been hypothesized. While the r-squared values for rebellion are extremely low, those for protest are slightly more robust. On their face, these results call into question the hypothesis that egalitarian language policies at the constitutional level act to prevent minority protest and rebellion.

<b>TABLE 3      Language Policy and Country Protest Score - Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics				Model Statistics		
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Language Policy 1984 – Adm/Judicial	Country Protest 1985	-.126	-.102	.493	.081	.035
Language Status 1984 – Educational		.253	.221	.128		
Language Status 1984 – General		.283	.266	.043		
Language Status 1984 – Index	Country Protest 1985	.142	.295	.013	.074	.013
Language Policy 1985 – Adm/Judicial	Country Protest 1986	-.159	-.127	.391	.101	.018
Language Status 1985 – Educational		.281	.241	.093		
Language Status 1985 – General		.315	.291	.026		
Language Status 1985 – Index	Country Protest 1986	.151	.310	.009	.083	.009
Language Policy 1986 – Adm/Judicial	Country Protest 1987	-.113	-.094	.530	.080	.037
Language Status 1986 – Educational		.303	.268	.065		
Language Status 1986 – General		.223	.213	.103		
Language Status 1986 – Index	Country Protest 1987	.141	.300	.012	.077	.012
Language Policy 1987 – Adm/Judicial	Country Protest 1988	.093	.067	.655	.068	.054
Language Status 1987 – Educational		.212	.163	.261		
Language Status 1987 – General		.221	.183	.162		
Language Status 1987 – Index	Country Protest 1988	.177	.326	.006	.093	.006
Language Policy 1988 – Adm/Judicial	Country Protest 1989	.080	.062	.674	.106	.016
Language Status 1988 – Educational		.293	.244	.089		
Language Status 1988 – General		.184	.165	.198		
Language Status 1988 – Index	Country Protest 1989	.187	.372	.002	.126	.002
Language Policy 1989 – Adm/Judicial	Country Protest 1990	.058	.004	.979	.120	.009
Language Status 1989 – Educational		.413	.294	.039		
Language Status 1989 – General		.237	.184	.154		
Language Status 1989 – Index	Country Protest 1990	.222	.377	.001	.130	.001
Language Policy 1990 – Adm/Judicial	Country Protest 1991	-.053	-.036	.811	.054	.084
Language Status 1990 – Educational		.341	.250	.090		
Language Status 1990 – General		.184	.145	.270		
Language Status 1990 – Index	Country Protest 1991	.161	.281	.018	.065	.018
Language Policy 1991 – Adm/Judicial	Country Protest 1992	-.300	-.200	.178	.099	.019
Language Status 1991 – Educational		.546	.391	.007		
Language Status 1991 – General		.191	.147	.253		
Language Status 1991 – Index	Country Protest 1992	.152	.260	.030	.054	.030
Language Policy 1992 – Adm/Judicial	Country Protest 1993	-.223	-.146	.328	.088	.029
Language Status 1992 – Educational		.486	.340	.020		
Language Status 1992 – General		.225	.170	.190		
Language Status 1982 – Index	Country Protest 1993	.168	.282	.018	.066	.018
Language Policy 1993 – Adm/Judicial	Country Protest 1994	-.355	-.252	.079	.165	.002
Language Status 1993 – Educational		.686	.523	.000		
Language Status 1993 – General		.094	.077	.533		
Language Status 1993 – Index	Country Protest 1994	.148	.269	.024	.059	.024
Number of cases = 70			Significance: *.10    **.05    ***.01			

<b>TABLE 4      Language Policy and Country Rebellion Score - Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics				Model Statistics		
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Language Policy 1984 – Adm/Judicial	Country Rebellion 1985	-.278	-.132	.399	-.008	.494
Language Status 1984 – Educational		.083	.042	.779		
Language Status 1984 – General		.360	.198	.147		
Language Status 1984 – Index	Country Rebellion 1985	.062	.076	.532	-.009	.532
Language Policy 1985 – Adm/Judicial	Country Rebellion 1986	-.296	-.145	.353	-.001	.409
Language Status 1985 – Educational		.073	.038	.800		
Language Status 1985 – General		.387	.218	.109		
Language Status 1985 – Index	Country Rebellion 1986	.062	.078	.523	-.009	.523
Language Policy 1986 – Adm/Judicial	Country Rebellion 1987	-.359	-.175	.258	.013	.283
Language Status 1986 – Educational		.082	.043	.773		
Language Status 1986 – General		.438	.248	.067		
Language Status 1986 – Index	Country Rebellion 1987	.063	.079	.516	-.008	.516
Language Policy 1987 – Adm/Judicial	Country Rebellion 1988	-.353	-.175	.262	-.004	.440
Language Status 1987 – Educational		.075	.040	.791		
Language Status 1987 – General		.348	.200	.142		
Language Status 1987 – Index	Country Rebellion 1988	.031	.040	.745	-.013	.745
Language Policy 1988 – Adm/Judicial	Country Rebellion 1989	-.336	-.162	.304	-.022	.676
Language Status 1988 – Educational		.121	.063	.680		
Language Status 1988 – General		.230	.128	.348		
Language Status 1988 – Index	Country Rebellion 1989	.012	.015	.905	-.014	.905
Language Policy 1989 – Adm/Judicial	Country Rebellion 1990	-.174	-.078	.621	-.020	.647
Language Status 1989 – Educational		.011	.005	.973		
Language Status 1989 – General		.335	.173	.207		
Language Status 1989 – Index	Country Rebellion 1990	.063	.072	.554	-.009	.554
Language Policy 1990 – Adm/Judicial	Country Rebellion 1991	-.303	-.133	.398	-.017	.604
Language Status 1990 – Educational		.085	.040	.791		
Language Status 1990 – General		.336	.170	.214		
Language Status 1990 – Index	Country Rebellion 1991	.047	.052	.666	-.012	.666
Language Policy 1991 – Adm/Judicial	Country Rebellion 1992	-.299	-.143	.364	-.018	.628
Language Status 1991 – Educational		.129	.066	.663		
Language Status 1991 – General		.280	.154	.259		
Language Status 1991 – Index	Country Rebellion 1992	.043	.053	.665	-.012	.665
Language Policy 1992 – Adm/Judicial	Country Rebellion 1993	-.157	-.075	.636	-.026	.740
Language Status 1992 – Educational		.108	.055	.717		
Language Status 1992 – General		.246	.135	.324		
Language Status 1992 – Index	Country Rebellion 1993	.070	.086	.481	-.007	.481

<b>TABLE 4      Language Policy and Country Rebellion Score - Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics				Model Statistics		
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Language Policy 1993 – Adm/Judicial	Country Rebellion 1994	-.236	-.108	.493	-.030	.798
Language Status 1993 – Educational		.119	.059	.699		
Language Status 1993 – General		.217	.115	.401		
Language Status 1993 – Index	Country Rebellion 1994	.039	.046	.708	-.013	.708
Number of cases = 70			Significance: *.10    **.05    ***.01			

The analyses of group differential variables summarized in Tables 5 and 6 reflect no significant relationship between administrative/judicial group differential and protest but a positive relationship between administrative/judicial group differential and rebellion for over half the periods. The three-variable model shows a positive relationship involving the rebellion variables in all of the years studied. Considering the small R-squared values, a group with a language status above the norm for minority languages would appear to have a slightly higher likelihood of being involved in rebellion. Once again, the relationship is in a direction contrary to expectations and signals the failure to confirm the third hypothesis. One must ask, what happened to the importance of language?

<b>TABLE 5      Group Language Status Differential and Group Protest - Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics				Model Statistics		
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1984 – Adm/Judicial	Protest 1985	.165	.198	.286	-.004	.501
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1984 – Educational		-.011	-.012	.952		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1984 – General		-.134	-.158	.235		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1984 – Index	Protest 1985	.096	.032	.701	-.006	.701
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1985 – Adm/Judicial	Protest 1986	.079	.094	.611	-.011	.693



<b>TABLE 5      Group Language Status Differential and Group Protest - Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics				Model Statistics		
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1985 – Educational		.063	.072	.724		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1985 – General		-.098	-.114	.412		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1985 – Index	Protest 1986	.016	.052	.531	-.004	.531
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1986 – Adm/Judicial	Protest 1987	.115	.137	.462	-.009	.654
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1986 – Educational		-.066	-.008	.970		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1986 – General		-.032	-.037	.788		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1986 – Index	Protest 1987	.027	.088	.286	.001	.286
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1987 – Adm/Judicial	Protest 1988	.050	.052	.781	-.019	.982
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1987 – Educational		-.050	-.005	.980		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1987 – General		-.047	-.047	.734		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1987 – Index	Protest 1988	.000	.001	.988	-.007	.988
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1988 – Adm/Judicial	Protest 1989	-.034	-.041	.825	-.013	.728
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1988 – Educational		-.001	-.001	.996		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1988 – General		.095	.112	.418		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1988 – Index	Protest 1989	.019	.064	.436	-.003	.436
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1989 – Adm/Judicial	Protest 1990	.151	.152	.415	-.014	.811
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1989 – Educational		-.096	-.092	.651		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1989 – General		.000	.000	.998		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1989 – Index	Protest 1990	.020	.055	.504	-.004	.504
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1990 – Adm/Judicial	Protest 1991	.101	.104	.576	-.007	.587
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1990 – Educational		-.089	-.088	.665		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1990 – General		.096	.097	.483		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1990 – Index	Protest 1991	.036	.102	.217	.004	.217
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1991 – Adm/Judicial	Protest 1992	.068	.071	.701	.004	.308
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1991 – Educational		-.038	-.038	.849		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1991 – General		.128	.130	.345		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1991 – Index	Protest 1992	.052	.148	.071	.015	.071
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1992 – Adm/Judicial	Protest 1993	.142	.145	.432	.000	.405
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1992 – Educational		-.147	-.144	.476		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1992 – General		.139	.130	.347		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1992 – Index	Protest 1993	.041	.117	.156	.007	.156

<b>TABLE 5      Group Language Status Differential and Group Protest - Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics					Model Statistics	
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1993 – Adm/Judicial	Protest 1994	.160	.175	.343	.006	.273
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1993 – Educational		-.264	-.278	.170		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1993 – General		.192	.206	.134		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1993 – Index	Protest 1994	.029	.087	.294	.001	.294
Number of cases = 151			Significance: *.10   ** .05   ***.01			

<b>TABLE 6      Group Language Status Differential and Group Rebellion – Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics					Model Statistics	
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1984 – Adm/Judicial	Rebellion 1985	-.370	.282	.124	.013	.176
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1984 – Educational		-.051	-.037	.851		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1984 – General		-.159	-.119	.383		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1984 – Index	Rebellion 1985	.058	.122	.135	.008	.135
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1985 – Adm/Judicial	Rebellion 1986	.371	.293	.110	.015	.162
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1985 – Educational		-.042	-.032	.874		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1985 – General		-.195	-.151	.269		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1985 – Index	Rebellion 1986	.050	.108	.189	.005	.189
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1986 – Adm/Judicial	Rebellion 1987	.375	.299	.102	.018	.128
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1986 – Educational		-.034	-.026	.895		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1986 – General		-.188	-.147	.282		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1986 – Index	Rebellion 1987	.056	.124	.136	.009	.131
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1987 – Adm/Judicial	Rebellion 1988	.340	.274	.605	.002	.348
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1987 – Educational		-.135	-.104	.575		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1987 – General		-.097	-.077	.540		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1987 – Index	Rebellion 1988	.040	.089	.275	.001	.275
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1988 – Adm/Judicial	Rebellion 1989	.526	.397	.030	.025	.081
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1988 – Educational		-.260	-.188	.344		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1988 – General		-.088	-.065	.630		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1988 – Index	Rebellion 1989	.065	.135	.099	.012	.099
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1989 – Adm/Judicial	Rebellion 1990	.730	.528	.004	.052	.013
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1989 – Educational		-.376	-.260	.185		

<b>TABLE 6      Group Language Status Differential and Group Rebellion – Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics				Model Statistics		
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1989 – General		-.160	-.113	.398		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1989 – Index	Rebellion 1990	.073	.146	.074	.015	.074
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1990 – Adm/Judicial	Rebellion 1991	.721	.505	.006	.041	.028
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1990 – Educational		-.389	-.261	.186		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1990 – General		-.187	-.128	.340		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1990 – Index	Rebellion 1991	.057	.109	.182	.005	.182
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1991 – Adm/Judicial	Rebellion 1992	.646	.494	.007	.034	.044
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1991 – Educational		-.418	-.306	.123		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1991 – General		-.227	-.170	.210		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1991 – Index	Rebellion 1992	.009	.018	.822	-.006	.822
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1992 – Adm/Judicial	Rebellion 1993	.622	.489	.008	.032	.050
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1992 – Educational		-.390	-.294	.138		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1992 – General		-.202	-.156	.250		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1992 – Index	Rebellion 1993	.017	.038	.646	-.005	.646
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1993 – Adm/Judicial	Rebellion 1994	.561	.440	.017	.022	.102
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1993 – Educational		-.354	-.265	.184		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1993 – General		-.150	-.115	.396		
Difference of Group Language Status from Standard Policy 1993 – Index	Rebellion 1994	.026	.056	.497	-.004	.497
Number of cases = 151		Significance: *.10    **.05    ***.01				

Results for the fourth hypothesis are mixed, as seen in Tables 7 and 8. These linear regression analyses involved country differentials (the differences between the highest and lowest group language status scores within each country) as the independent variables. The dependent variables are the country-level protest and rebellion variables, representing the highest group protest and group rebellion values within each country. Eight out of ten time periods show the expected positive relationship at significant levels between country differential and country protest for the administrative/judicial area of

language policy. All ten periods show the same positive relationship for the language policy indices. In the three-variable model, this relationship is significant in all ten periods. The individual differential variables for educational and general language policy do not show a significant relationship with protest. None of the country differentials show the expected positive relationship with country-level rebellion. The protest figures finally yield an expected relationship, but, as further discussed in the next chapter, the greater incidence of protest found in countries with a wider variation in group language status levels cannot be used to support a conclusion that the groups with lower language status are those initiating the protest. Such a conclusion would conflict with the other findings in this study.

<b>TABLE 7 Country Language Policy Differential and Country Protest – Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics			Model Statistics			
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1984 – Administrative/Judicial	Country Protest 1985	.496	.506	.011 **	.259	.000 ***
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1984 – Educational		.035	.028	.903		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1984 – General		.014	.014	.948		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1984 – Index	Country Protest 1985	.194	.511	.000 ***	.251	.000 ***
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1985 – Administrative/Judicial	Country Protest 1986	.589	.591	.003 ***	.251	.000 ***
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1985 – Educational		-.036	-.029	.899		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1985 – General		-.048	-.046	.826		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1985 – Index	Country Protest 1986	.186	.481	.000 ***	.220	.000 ***
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1986 – Administrative/Judicial	Country Protest 1987	.480	.499	.016 **	.192	.001 ***
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1986 – Educational		-.117	-.099	.680		

<b>TABLE 7 Country Language Policy Differential and Country Protest – Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics				Model Statistics		
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1986 – General		.075	.074	.734		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1986 – Index	Country Protest 1987	.164	.441	.000 ***	.183	.003 ***
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1987 – Administrative/Judicial	Country Protest 1988	.363	.327	.118	.150	.003 ***
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1987 – Educational		.087	.064	.796		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1987 – General		.070	.060	.788		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1987 – Index	Country Protest 1988	.181	.422	.000 ***	.166	.000 ***
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1988 – Administrative/Judicial	Country Protest 1989	.305	.296	.152	.167	.002 ***
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1988 – Educational		-.148	-.117	.630		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1988 – General		.314	.288	.193		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1988 – Index	Country Protest 1989	.173	.436	.000 ***	.178	.000 ***
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1989 – Administrative/Judicial	Country Protest 1990	.525	.437	.046 **	.083	.034 **
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1989 – Educational		-.176	-.119	.640		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1989 – General		.010	.008	.973		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1989 – Index	Country Protest 1990	.140	.302	.011 **	.076	.013 **
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1990 – Administrative/Judicial	Country Protest 1991	.474	.407	.048 **	.187	.001 ***
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1990 – Educational		.237	.165	.493		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1990 – General		-.123	-.100	.646		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1990 – Index	Country Protest 1991	.200	.443	.000 ***	.184	.000 ***
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1991 – Administrative/Judicial	Country Protest 1992	.561	.470	.024 **	.173	.001 ***
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1991 – Educational		.040	.027	.911		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1991 – General		-.059	-.046	.833		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1991 – Index	Country Protest 1992	.194	.421	.000 ***	.165	.000 ***
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1992 – Administrative/Judicial	Country Protest 1993	.445	.365	.080 *	.160	.002 ***
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1992 – Educational		-.270	-.180	.463		

<b>TABLE 7 Country Language Policy Differential and Country Protest – Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics				Model Statistics		
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1992 – General		.342	.264	.234		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1992 – Index	Country Protest 1993	.197	.418	.000 ***	.163	.000 ***
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1993 – Administrative/Judicial	Country Protest 1994	.592	.529	.008 ***	.249	.000 ***
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1993 – Educational		-.307	-.223	.336		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1993 – General		.262	.221	.292		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1993 – Index	Country Protest 1994	.185	.410	.000 ***	.156	.000 ***
Number of cases = 70		Significance: *.10 **.05 ***.01				

<b>TABLE 8 Country Language Policy Differential and Country Rebellion – Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics				Model Statistics		
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1984 – Administrative/Judicial	Country Rebellion 1985	.284	.170	.447	.020	.230
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1984 – Educational		.666	.324	.223		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1984 – General		-.863	-.486	.045		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1984 – Index	Country Rebellion 1985	.006	.010	.937	-.015	.937
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1985 – Administrative/Judicial	Country Rebellion 1986	.252	.154	.492	.002	.374
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1985 – Educational		.462	.231	.388		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1985 – General		-.730	-.423	.082		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1985 – Index	Country Rebellion 1986	-.021	-.033	.784	-.014	.784
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1986 – Administrative/Judicial	Country Rebellion 1987	.278	.171	.443	.024	.204
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1986 – Educational		.666	.333	.209		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1986 – General		-.871	-.505	.037		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1986 – Index	Country Rebellion 1987	-.001	-.002	.989	-.015	.989

<b>TABLE 8 Country Language Policy Differential and Country Rebellion – Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics				Model Statistics		
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1987 – Administrative/Judicial	Country Rebellion 1988	.282	.176	.433	.011	.296
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1987 – Educational		.505	.256	.336		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1987 – General		-.778	-.458	.059		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1987 – Index	Country Rebellion 1988	-.014	-.022	.855	-.014	.855
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1988 – Administrative/Judicial	Country Rebellion 1989	.315	.191	.397	.003	.369
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1988 – Educational		.436	.215	.421		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1988 – General		-.729	-.416	.087		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1988 – Index	Country Rebellion 1989	-.005	-.008	.945	-.015	.945
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1989 – Administrative/Judicial	Country Rebellion 1990	.025	.014	.951	-.023	.700
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1989 – Educational		.584	.266	.325		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1989 – General		-.499	-.264	.280		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1989 – Index	Country Rebellion 1990	.012	.008	.884	-.014	.884
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1990 – Administrative/Judicial	Country Rebellion 1991	.297	.164	.471	-.014	.560
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1990 – Educational		.361	.161	.548		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1990 – General		-.648	-.336	.169		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1990 – Index	Country Rebellion 1991	-.006	-.009	.942	-.015	.942
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1991 – Administrative/Judicial	Country Rebellion 1992	.189	.113	.620	-.027	.759
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1991 – Educational		.325	.158	.559		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1991 – General		-.418	-.236	.336		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1991 – Index	Country Rebellion 1992	.022	.035	.775	-.013	.775
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1992 – Administrative/Judicial	Country Rebellion 1993	.224	.134	.559	-.035	.875
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1992 – Educational		.088	.004	.987		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1992 – General		-.294	-.166	.499		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1992 – Index	Country Rebellion 1993	-.017	-.026	.830	-.014	.830

<b>TABLE 8 Country Language Policy Differential and Country Rebellion – Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics				Model Statistics		
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1993 – Administrative/Judicial	Country Rebellion 1994	.263	.151	.508	-.028	.773
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1993 – Educational		.105	.049	.856		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1993 – General		-.425	-.231	.346		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1993 – Index	Country Rebellion 1994	-.029	-.042	.731	-.013	.731
Number of cases = 70				Significance: *.10 **.05 ***.01		

To further analyze the unexpected relationships seen in the majority of the results discussed above, a set of analyses comparable to the first was performed omitting minority groups whose language is official (not merely a national or similarly designated language) for all three policy areas or whose country policy declares all languages equal. Minority groups whose native language is the official language of their country would not be expected to engage in protest or rebellion over language issues. For this reason, it does not seem logical that such groups would exhibit the highest degree of positive relationship between language policy or status and protest or rebellion. As a practical matter this new set of analyses involved leaving out all group cases with a language policy index value of 12. The results, summarized in Tables 9 and 10, reveal a stronger positive relationship between the index and protest or rebellion in most cases than was demonstrated in the analyses of all groups. This appears to indicate that while groups with higher language status engage in more protest and rebellion, the most active groups are not the groups at the top of the language status hierarchy. These results indicate a possible convex curvilinear relationship between language policy or group language status and protest or rebellion, which is explored later in this section.



<b>TABLE 9 Group Language Status (not including official language groups) and Group Protest – Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics		Model Statistics				
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Group Language Status 1984 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1985	.003	-.003	.979	.011	.234
Group Language Status 1984 – Education		.123	.132	.206		
Group Language Status 1984 – General		.090	.094	.371		
Group Language Status 1984 – Index	Protest 1985	.074	.175	.054	.023	.054
Group Language Status 1985 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1986	-.042	-.039	.709	.038	.215
Group Language Status 1985 – Education		.131	.139	.180		
Group Language Status 1985 – General		.106	.109	.299		
Group Language Status 1985 – Index	Protest 1986	.072	.170	.063	.021	.063
Group Language Status 1986 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1987	-.027	-.016	.802	-.001	.417
Group Language Status 1986 – Education		.122	.136	.194		
Group Language Status 1986 – General		.049	.053	.615		
Group Language Status 1986 – Index	Protest 1987	.054	.133	.146	.009	.146
Group Language Status 1987 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1988	.153	.125	.233	.004	.333
Group Language Status 1987 – Education		.096	.090	.387		
Group Language Status 1987 – General		-.030	-.027	.795		
Group Language Status 1987 – Index	Protest 1988	.074	.153	.094	.015	.094
Group Language Status 1988 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1989	-.011	-.011	.915	.015	.191
Group Language Status 1988 – Education		.058	.064	.535		
Group Language Status 1988 – General		.157	.169	.107		
Group Language Status 1988 – Index	Protest 1989	.061	.150	.099	.014	.099
Group Language Status 1989 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1990	.266	.219	.031	.074	.007
Group Language Status 1989 – Education		.083	.078	.438		
Group Language Status 1989 – General		.096	.088	.388		
Group Language Status 1989 – Index	Protest 1990	.138	.287	.001	.074	.001
Group Language Status 1990 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1991	.080	.068	.514	.025	.113
Group Language Status 1990 – Education		.073	.070	.495		
Group Language Status 1990 – General		.152	.142	.174		
Group Language Status 1990 – Index	Protest 1991	.100	.212	.019	.037	.019
Group Language Status 1991 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1992	-.081	-.069	.491	.088	.003
Group Language Status 1991 – Education		.256	.249	.014		
Group Language Status 1991 – General		.191	.179	.076		
Group Language Status 1991 – Index	Protest 1992	.128	.275	.002	.068	.002
Group Language Status 1992 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1993	-.015	-.013	.000	.061	.016
Group Language Status 1992 – Education		.153	.148	.145		
Group Language Status 1992 – General		.218	.204	.047		
Group Language Status 1992 – Index	Protest 1993	.105	.225	.013	.043	.013
Group Language Status 1993 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1994	.004	.003	.975	.060	.017
Group Language Status 1993 – Education		.228	.228	.025		
Group Language Status 1993 – General		.107	.104	.310		
Group Language Status 1993 – Index	Protest 1994	.096	.212	.020	.037	.020
Number of cases = 123		Significance: *.10 **.05 ***.01				

<b>TABLE 10 Group Language Status (not incl. official language groups) and Group Rebellion – Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics		Model Statistics				
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Group Language Status 1984 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1985	.284	.183	.079	.011	.236
Group Language Status 1984 – Education		-.019	-.014	.893		
Group Language Status 1984 – General		.029	.021	.843		
Group Language Status 1984 – Index	Rebellion 1985	.088	.144	.112	.013	.112
Group Language Status 1985 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1986	.286	.189	.070	.014	.203
Group Language Status 1985 – Education		-.016	-.012	.906		
Group Language Status 1985 – General		.032	.023	.825		
Group Language Status 1985 – Index	Rebellion 1986	.101	.168	.064	.020	.064
Group Language Status 1986 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1987	.222	.148	.154	.012	.216
Group Language Status 1986 – Education		-.011	-.008	.937		
Group Language Status 1986 – General		.108	.079	.446		
Group Language Status 1986 – Index	Rebellion 1987	.109	.184	.041	.026	.041
Group Language Status 1987 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1988	.206	.139	.183	.006	.285
Group Language Status 1987 – Education		-.040	-.031	.768		
Group Language Status 1987 – General		.108	.080	.442		
Group Language Status 1987 – Index	Rebellion 1988	.095	.161	.076	.018	.076
Group Language Status 1988 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1989	.200	.128	.216	.017	.170
Group Language Status 1988 – Education		-.024	-.018	.864		
Group Language Status 1988 – General		.172	.122	.241		
Group Language Status 1988 – Index	Rebellion 1989	.122	.197	.029	.031	.029
Group Language Status 1989 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1990	.367	.225	.030	.034	.069
Group Language Status 1989 – Education		-.122	-.085	.404		
Group Language Status 1989 – General		.115	.078	.448		
Group Language Status 1989 – Index	Rebellion 1990	.119	.184	.042	.026	.042
Group Language Status 1990 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1991	.304	.176	.088	.029	.091
Group Language Status 1990 – Education		-.088	-.058	.570		
Group Language Status 1990 – General		.188	.120	.245		
Group Language Status 1990 – Index	Rebellion 1991	.138	.201	.026	.032	.026
Group Language Status 1991 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1992	.278	.170	.100	.022	.129
Group Language Status 1991 – Education		-.048	-.033	.744		
Group Language Status 1991 – General		.145	.098	.346		
Group Language Status 1991 – Index	Rebellion 1992	.129	.199	.027	.032	.027
Group Language Status 1992 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1993	.270	.170	.101	.023	.123
Group Language Status 1992 – Education		-.020	-.014	.890		
Group Language Status 1992 – General		.130	.091	.382		
Group Language Status 1992 – Index	Rebellion 1993	.130	.207	.022	.035	.022
Group Language Status 1993 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1994	.150	.095	.362	-.005	.496
Group Language Status 1993 – Education		-.046	-.033	.747		
Group Language Status 1993 – General		.124	.087	.407		
Group Language Status 1993 – Index	Rebellion 1994	.082	.132	.146	.009	.146
Number of cases = 123		Significance: *.10 **.05 ***.01				

In order to further analyze the relationship between language status and protest and rebellion on a group basis, separate regressions were performed for each of the six types of politicized group as categorized in the Minorities at Risk data set: ethnonationalists, national minorities, indigenous peoples, ethnoclasses, communal contenders and religious sects. The first three are considered national peoples, defined as “regionally concentrated groups that have lost their autonomy but preserve some of their cultural distinctiveness and want to protect or reestablish some degree of politically separate existence;” the last three are minority peoples, “groups which have a defined socioeconomic or political status within a larger society and are concerned about protecting or improving that status” (University of Maryland 1999, groups.html). The official language speakers were not omitted from this set of analyses; all regressions in this set were based on the full original case selection. Only two types of groups showed more than a few instances each of significant relationships: indigenous peoples and communal contenders, as shown in Tables 11-14. For indigenous peoples, the relationship is almost nonexistent for protest but positive in several cases for rebellion, following the general flow of the average results for all groups. The results for communal contenders demonstrate a mixed pattern, with a negative relationship as expected between administrative/judicial language policy and protest in several instances, a positive relationship in several instances between educational language policy and protest and a positive relationship in several instances between the language policy indices and rebellion.

<b>TABLE 11 Group Language Status (Indigenous Peoples only) and Group Protest – Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics		Model Statistics				
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Group Language Status 1984 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1985	.064	.083	.635	.112	.099
Group Language Status 1984 – Education		.021	.026	.885		
Group Language Status 1984 – General		.326	.414	.029		
Group Language Status 1984 – Index	Protest 1985	.142	.369	.037	.108	.037
Group Language Status 1985 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1986	-.020	-.028	.879	-.007	.438
Group Language Status 1985 – Education		-.019	-.025	.898		
Group Language Status 1985 – General		.227	.311	.115		
Group Language Status 1985 – Index	Protest 1986	.067	.189	.301	-.003	.301
Group Language Status 1986 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1987	-.031	-.041	.829	-.049	.673
Group Language Status 1986 – Education		.013	.017	.931		
Group Language Status 1986 – General		.175	.227	.255		
Group Language Status 1986 – Index	Protest 1987	.056	.149	.417	-.010	.417
Group Language Status 1987 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1988	.194	.196	.306	-.058	.734
Group Language Status 1987 – Education		-.049	-.047	.810		
Group Language Status 1987 – General		.060	.060	.761		
Group Language Status 1987 – Index	Protest 1988	.067	.137	.454	-.014	.454
Group Language Status 1988 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1989	-.099	-.145	.429	.028	.296
Group Language Status 1988 – Education		-.123	-.172	.366		
Group Language Status 1988 – General		.237	.343	.079		
Group Language Status 1988 – Index	Protest 1989	.011	.033	.857	-.032	.857
Group Language Status 1989 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1990	.278	.307	.098	.041	.250
Group Language Status 1989 – Education		.015	.016	.931		
Group Language Status 1989 – General		.135	.146	.439		
Group Language Status 1989 – Index	Protest 1990	.142	.315	.079	.069	.079
Group Language Status 1990 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1991	.054	.072	.705	-.065	.775
Group Language Status 1990 – Education		.047	.006	.976		
Group Language Status 1990 – General		.127	.167	.402		
Group Language Status 1990 – Index	Protest 1991	.063	.171	.348	-.003	.348
Group Language Status 1991 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1992	-.156	-.189	.317	-.027	.544
Group Language Status 1991 – Education		.154	.177	.365		
Group Language Status 1991 – General		.084	.100	.610		
Group Language Status 1991 – Index	Protest 1992	.030	.073	.692	-.028	.692
Group Language Status 1992 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1993	-.076	-.091	.638	-.094	.952
Group Language Status 1992 – Education		-.049	-.056	.781		
Group Language Status 1992 – General		.041	.048	.812		
Group Language Status 1992 – Index	Protest 1993	-.026	-.063	.731	-.029	.731
Group Language Status 1993 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1994	-.088	-.102	.591	-.045	.647
Group Language Status 1993 – Education		.210	.232	.242		
Group Language Status 1993 – General		-.010	-.012	.953		
Group Language Status 1993 – Index	Protest 1994	.037	.087	.634	-.025	.634
Number of cases = 33		Significance: *.10 **.05 ***.01				

<b>TABLE 12 Group Language Status (Indigenous Peoples only) and Group Rebellion – Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics		Model Statistics				
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Group Language Status 1984 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1985	.177	.125	.503	-.044	.651
Group Language Status 1984 – Education		.039	.027	.890		
Group Language Status 1984 – General		.231	.161	.412		
Group Language Status 1984 – Index	Rebellion 1985	.150	.218	.222	.017	.222
Group Language Status 1985 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1986	.177	.125	.503	-.044	.651
Group Language Status 1985 – Education		.039	.027	.890		
Group Language Status 1985 – General		.231	.161	.412		
Group Language Status 1985 – Index	Rebellion 1986	.150	.218	.222	.017	.222
Group Language Status 1986 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1987	.177	.125	.503	-.044	.651
Group Language Status 1986 – Education		.039	.027	.139		
Group Language Status 1986 – General		.231	.161	.833		
Group Language Status 1986 – Index	Rebellion 1987	.150	.218	.222	.017	.222
Group Language Status 1987 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1988	.211	.157	.401	-.038	.613
Group Language Status 1987 – Education		.069	.049	.799		
Group Language Status 1987 – General		.180	.133	.497		
Group Language Status 1987 – Index	Rebellion 1988	.153	.234	.189	.024	.189
Group Language Status 1988 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1989	.207	.150	.409	.024	.304
Group Language Status 1988 – Education		.127	.088	.639		
Group Language Status 1988 – General		.327	.233	.223		
Group Language Status 1988 – Index	Rebellion 1989	.223	.330	.060	.080	.060
Group Language Status 1989 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1990	.556	.403	.021	.164	.042
Group Language Status 1989 – Education		.123	.086	.623		
Group Language Status 1989 – General		.230	.165	.348		
Group Language Status 1989 – Index	Rebellion 1990	.298	.444	.010	.171	.010
Group Language Status 1990 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1991	.490	.344	.043	.198	.024
Group Language Status 1990 – Education		.226	.153	.373		
Group Language Status 1990 – General		.349	.242	.164		
Group Language Status 1990 – Index	Rebellion 1991	.363	.507	.002	.235	.002
Group Language Status 1991 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1992	.446	.310	.071	.163	.043
Group Language Status 1991 – Education		.275	.185	.294		
Group Language Status 1991 – General		.301	.208	.241		
Group Language Status 1991 – Index	Rebellion 1992	.338	.485	.004	.210	.004
Group Language Status 1992 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1993	.328	.251	.137	.179	.033
Group Language Status 1992 – Education		.295	.217	.214		
Group Language Status 1992 – General		.341	.258	.144		
Group Language Status 1992 – Index	Rebellion 1993	.321	.505	.003	.231	.003
Group Language Status 1993 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1994	.128	.104	.545	.124	.078
Group Language Status 1993 – Education		.274	.213	.238		
Group Language Status 1993 – General		.373	.298	.104		
Group Language Status 1993 – Index	Rebellion 1994	.262	.436	.011	.164	.011
Number of cases = 33		Significance: *.10 **.05 ***.01				

<b>TABLE 13 Group Language Status (Communal Contenders only) and Group Protest – Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics		Model Statistics				
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Group Language Status 1984 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1985	-.567	-.654	.126	.144	.067
Group Language Status 1984 – Education		.526	.711	.021		
Group Language Status 1984 – General		-.105	-.147	.733		
Group Language Status 1984 – Index	Protest 1985	-.029	-.108	.564	-.022	.564
Group Language Status 1985 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1986	-.567	-.654	.126	.144	.067
Group Language Status 1985 – Education		.526	.711	.021		
Group Language Status 1985 – General		-.105	-.147	.733		
Group Language Status 1985 – Index	Protest 1986	-.029	-.108	.564	-.022	.564
Group Language Status 1986 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1987	-.502	-.517	.242	.066	.190
Group Language Status 1986 – Education		.531	.640	.044		
Group Language Status 1986 – General		-.094	-.117	.794		
Group Language Status 1986 – Index	Protest 1987	.004	.014	.940	-.034	.940
Group Language Status 1987 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1988	-.406	-.407	.366	.025	.310
Group Language Status 1987 – Education		.458	.538	.094		
Group Language Status 1987 – General		-.154	-.187	.683		
Group Language Status 1987 – Index	Protest 1988	-.022	-.071	.705	-.029	.705
Group Language Status 1988 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1989	-.716	-.898	.050**	.042	.254
Group Language Status 1988 – Education		.155	.228	.465		
Group Language Status 1988 – General		.442	.671	.148		
Group Language Status 1988 – Index	Protest 1989	-.000	-.001	.998	-.034	.998
Group Language Status 1989 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1990	-.068	-.076	.873	-.109	.997
Group Language Status 1989 – Education		.042	.056	.868		
Group Language Status 1989 – General		.028	.038	.939		
Group Language Status 1989 – Index	Protest 1990	.004	.015	.938	-.034	.938
Group Language Status 1990 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1991	-.677	-.682	.144	-.024	.524
Group Language Status 1990 – Education		.054	.063	.843		
Group Language Status 1990 – General		.463	.564	.236		
Group Language Status 1990 – Index	Protest 1991	-.015	-.048	.800	-.032	.800
Group Language Status 1991 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1992	-.857	-.907	.040 **	.118	.096 *
Group Language Status 1991 – Education		.369	.458	.132		
Group Language Status 1991 – General		.507	.649	.144		
Group Language Status 1991 – Index	Protest 1992	.054	.183	.325	.000	.325
Group Language Status 1992 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1993	-1.169	-1.108	.012 **	.160	.053 *
Group Language Status 1992 – Education		.409	.454	.126		
Group Language Status 1992 – General		.666	.764	.081		
Group Language Status 1992 – Index	Protest 1993	.033	.099	.596	-.024	.596
Group Language Status 1993 – Adm/Jud	Protest 1994	-1.387	-1.341	.002 ***	.258	.011 **
Group Language Status 1993 – Education		.423	.479	.088		
Group Language Status 1993 – General		.803	.940	.025		
Group Language Status 1993 – Index	Protest 1994	-.023	.070	.710	-.029	.710
Number of cases = 31		Significance: *.10 ** .05 *** .01				

<b>TABLE 14 Group Language Status (Communal Contenders only) and Group Rebellion – Linear Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics		Model Statistics				
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Group Language Status 1984 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1985	.625	.532	.243	.012	.357
Group Language Status 1984 – Education		-.167	-.166	.598		
Group Language Status 1984 – General		-.097	-.100	.828		
Group Language Status 1984 – Index	Rebellion 1985	.094	.255	.166	.033	.166
Group Language Status 1985 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1986	.690	.593	.183	.067	.186
Group Language Status 1985 – Education		-.162	-.163	.594		
Group Language Status 1985 – General		-.086	-.089	.842		
Group Language Status 1985 – Index	Rebellion 1986	.119	.326	.073	.076	.073
Group Language Status 1986 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1987	.668	.572	.202	.047	.237
Group Language Status 1986 – Education		-.164	-.164	.596		
Group Language Status 1986 – General		-.090	-.093	.837		
Group Language Status 1986 – Index	Rebellion 1987	.111	.302	.098	.091	.098
Group Language Status 1987 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1988	.658	.490	.262	.088	.144
Group Language Status 1987 – Education		-.085	-.074	.806		
Group Language Status 1987 – General		.014	-.013	.977		
Group Language Status 1987 – Index	Rebellion 1988	.162	.385	.033	.119	.033
Group Language Status 1988 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1989	.810	.539	.198	.170	.046
Group Language Status 1988 – Education		-.075	-.058	.841		
Group Language Status 1988 – General		.012	.010	.981		
Group Language Status 1988 – Index	Rebellion 1989	.220	.467	.008	.191	.008
Group Language Status 1989 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1990	.516	.352	.414	.104	.115
Group Language Status 1989 – Education		-.250	-.200	.508		
Group Language Status 1989 – General		.301	.248	.573		
Group Language Status 1989 – Index	Rebellion 1990	.179	.388	.031	.122	.031
Group Language Status 1990 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1991	.169	.125	.784	-.022	.511
Group Language Status 1990 – Education		-.365	-.317	.327		
Group Language Status 1990 – General		.397	.356	.450		
Group Language Status 1990 – Index	Rebellion 1991	.072	.169	.364	-.005	.364
Group Language Status 1991 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1992	.234	.205	.658	-.049	.662
Group Language Status 1991 – Education		-.323	-.331	.312		
Group Language Status 1991 – General		.200	.212	.656		
Group Language Status 1991 – Index	Rebellion 1992	.033	.093	.617	-.020	.617
Group Language Status 1992 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1993	.516	.465	.319	-.044	.636
Group Language Status 1992 – Education		-.273	-.288	.377		
Group Language Status 1992 – General		-.090	-.098	.837		
Group Language Status 1992 – Index	Rebellion 1993	.029	.082	.660	-.027	.660
Group Language Status 1993 – Adm/Jud	Rebellion 1994	.335	.269	.562	-.052	.680
Group Language Status 1993 – Education		-.372	-.350	.287		
Group Language Status 1993 – General		.130	.127	.790		
Group Language Status 1993 – Index	Rebellion 1994	.022	.072	.767	-.031	.767
Number of cases = 31		Significance: *.10 **.05 ***.01				

As planned, regression analyses were performed using the three central language policy variables and other variables which might influence protest and rebellion based on cultural matters: different language from the majority, different customs, different race and different religious belief. The cultural difference variables would be expected to have a positive relationship with protest and rebellion. Tables 15 and 16 outline the results of these analyses. Out of the language policy and cultural difference variables, the custom variable is the only one which demonstrates a significant relationship with protest and rebellion.

<b>TABLE 15 Cultural Variables And Group Protest</b>						
Independent Variables		Dependent Variable - Group Protest				
		1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Language Policy						
Adm/Judicial	B	-.038	-.078	-.023	.130	-.034
	Beta	-.050	-.102	-.031	.149	-.046
Educational	B	.014	.021	.035	-.027	-.065
	Beta	.019	.027	.046	-.030	-.087
General	B	.041	.077	.021	-.105	.139
	Beta	.054	.100	.027	-.120	.189
Cultural Differences						
Language	B	-.114	-.096	-.103	-.172	-.235
	Beta	-.071	-.059	-.064	-.093	-.151
Custom	B	.146	.105	.093	.161	.095
	Beta	.165	.117	.104	.157	.110
Race	B	-.086	-.110	-.076	-.110	-.081
	Beta	-.071	-.090	-.062	-.079	-.069
Religious Belief	B	.023	.075	.029	.050	.105
	Beta	.024	.075	.030	.044	.109
Model	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	-.022	-.023	-.040	-.010	.001
	Sig. F	.741	.746	.943	.568	.421
Significant Variables						
Custom – Sig.		.096	*			
Number of cases = 151						



<b>TABLE 15 (continued) Cultural Variables And Group Protest</b>						
Independent Variables		Dependent Variable - Group Protest				
		1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Language Policy						
Adm/Judicial	B	.147	-.025	-.151	-.086	-.105
	Beta	.168	-.030	-.178	-.101	-.130
Educational	B	-.071	-.055	.129	.063	.088
	Beta	-.080	-.064	.150	.007	.107
General	B	.031	.131	.153	.191	.049
	Beta	.036	.155	.180	.222	.060
Cultural Differences						
Language	B	-.437	-.274	-.278	-.252	-.104
	Beta	-.235	-.153	-.154	-.139	-.061
Custom	B	.110	.108	.052	.060	.053
	Beta	.107	.109	.052	.006	.056
Race	B	-.221	-.287	-.126	-.107	-.174
	Beta	-.159	-.214	-.093	-.079	-.135
Religious Belief	B	.043	.058	.008	.084	.036
	Beta	.038	-.053	.007	.076	.034
Model	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	.038	.023	.007	-.008	-.025
	Sig. F	.118	.204	.353	.546	.779
Significant Variables: None						
Number of cases = 151						

<b>TABLE 16 Cultural Variables and Group Rebellion</b>						
Independent Variables		Dependent Variable - Group Rebellion				
		1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Language Policy						
Adm/Judicial	B	.260	.244	.178	.179	.143
	Beta	.209	.204	.149	.152	.115
Educational	B	-.125	-.117	-.108	-.138	-.124
	Beta	-.099	-.096	-.090	-.115	-.098
General	B	-.051	-.050	.034	.032	.114
	Beta	-.041	-.042	.029	.027	.092
Cultural Differences						
Language	B	.165	.134	.221	.189	.174
	Beta	.062	.052	.087	.075	.066
Custom	B	.157	.131	.178	.252	.324
	Beta	.107	.093	.127	.182	.221
Race	B	-.007	-.029	-.018	.086	-.149
	Beta	-.003	-.015	-.010	.005	-.075

<b>TABLE 16 Cultural Variables and Group Rebellion</b>						
Independent Variables		Dependent Variable - Group Rebellion				
		1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Religious Belief	B	.112	.059	.052	.053	.023
	Beta	.069	.038	.033	.034	.014
Model	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	-.015	-.025	-.015	-.002	.014
	Sig. F	.635	.782	.640	.465	.279
Number of cases = 151						
Significant Variables						
Custom – Sig.						.023 **

<b>TABLE 16 (Continued) Cultural Variables and Group Rebellion</b>						
Independent Variables		Dependent Variable - Group Rebellion				
		1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Language Policy						
Adm/Judicial	B	.339	.277	.239	.235	.160
	Beta	.263	.207	.195	.198	.133
Educational	B	-.228	-.200	-.155	-.112	-.104
	Beta	-.174	-.147	-.125	-.092	-.649
General	B	.048	.106	.040	.030	.049
	Beta	.037	.079	.033	.025	.041
Cultural Differences						
Language	B	.059	.077	-.215	-.198	-.144
	Beta	.002	.000	-.083	-.078	-.056
Custom	B	.255	.393	.331	.309	.231
	Beta	.167	.250	.230	.220	.163
Race	B	-.109	-.086	-.026	-.009	.044
	Beta	-.053	-.040	.013	-.005	.023
Religious Belief	B	.029	-.047	-.087	-.082	-.184
	Beta	.017	.164	-.054	-.053	-.117
Model	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	.009	.027	.009	.002	-.015
	Sig. F	.328	.178	.336	.413	.641
Number of cases = 151						
Significant Variables						
Custom - Sig.		.085 *	.010 ***	.019 **	.025 **	.097 *

Returning to the possibility of a curve as the best representation of the relationship under study, it is necessary to consider what type of curve would make sense and why. Given the results outlined above, it would be mathematically sensible to expect a convex curve, with protest and rebellion increasing along with group language status or country language policy to some point at which protest and rebellion begin to decrease while language status or score continues to increase. As there are no language status or policy scores below  $-2$  and in some areas none below  $0$ , we can expect the highest point of the curve to be located well into the right side of the scale.

Mathematical expectations aside, what makes sense from a theoretical standpoint? Historians have commonly observed that rebellion comes not when people have nothing but rather when they have something which is not enough. Perhaps the highest point of conflict is generated by groups who have enough political resources to be in the game but who have a long way to go to become major players. Looking at it another way, a minority language must be recognized at a useful level in order to begin to be a political resource. Once it is a resource, it may also become a source of open conflict, a plank in a political platform or the basis for a legal claim of discrimination. A minority language speaker who is not provided a court interpreter can less easily bring a civil complaint to court or engage in nonviolent political action (protest) that his government will understand. Children who are not taught in their native language at even the elementary school level may not be as likely when they reach adulthood to have the resources or the inclination to engage in protest or rebellion on behalf of their particular language groups. Recalling Leibowitz's conclusion (1976, 463) that language restrictions are accompanied

by discriminatory practices in other areas, one must consider the possibility that a group whose language status is at the low end of the scale has little power in other matters.

Borrowing from Maslow's hierarchy, one could postulate that the positive relationship between language policy or group language status and protest and rebellion at the lower portion of the scale is a result of the fact that this part of the conflict is not over language but over basic needs. Most pertinent is the idea that as a group gains a greater level of language status it also gains a greater level of involvement in the government and thus a greater potential for working within the system. We may be seeing a reconciliation of both schools of thought – language as a resource and language as a source of conflict. The popularly assumed negative relationship may be appropriate only for groups who are well on their way up the political ladder. The hypotheses outlined previously can be refined to the following:

- (1) Minority groups whose languages have a somewhat recognized status under their country's language policy will have higher protest and rebellion scores than those with a restricted language status or with official language status.
- (2) Countries with language policies that exhibit a token recognition of language minorities will have higher protest and rebellion scores than those with highly restrictive or highly accommodative language policies.
- (3) Groups whose language status varies somewhat in a negative direction from their country's standard policy toward minority languages will have

higher protest and rebellion scores than groups whose language status is extremely varied negatively, not varied or varied positively.

- (4) Countries whose language policies have a substantial internal variation in their language provisions will have higher protest and rebellion scores than those with no variation or a high variation.

To test the revised hypotheses, the individual variable relationships in the first eight sets of regression analyses were analyzed as quadratic equation curves. By and large, the curved relationship appears to be a much better fit than the straight line estimated in standard linear regression and in fact appears to show a relationship that is merely masked by linear regression. Tables 17 through 22 and Figures 1 through 21 show the statistical results for only those independent variables that exhibited at least partially the expected relationship with protest or rebellion. Notation for the significance level of .001 has been added to the tables due to the extent of the difference between these results and those outlined previously. For instances in which a particular relationship changed markedly over the ten pairs of years in each set of analyses, more than one figure is given; otherwise one figure from each set is shown to conserve space. In most cases the curve is convex, as expected: the relationship begins as a positive one and turns in the negative direction after a peak which is generally in the same place on the scale as for the others in the set.

The group language status results are summarized in Tables 17-18 and Figures 1-4. Administrative/judicial group language status shows no significant relationship either with group protest or with group rebellion. Educational group

language status is related in the expected fashion to group protest, accounting for 5% to 13% of the variance, but is not significantly related to group rebellion. Groups with the highest observed protest scores are those whose native language is required by their country's constitutions to be taught at the elementary school level but not above that, and this language status level is also the highest point of the curve. General group language status shows the expected relationship with group rebellion, accounting for 6% to 15% of the variance, but is not significantly related to protest. Although high rebellion scores are observed at all levels of group language status, the rebellion curve peaks where groups have regional languages or are allowed to use their own languages for local community events. The group language status indices are related in the expected fashion to both protest and rebellion.

<b>TABLE 17      Group Language Status and Group Protest – Quadratic Regression (Edu &amp; Idx)</b>							
Variable Statistics		Model Statistics					
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F	
<b><u>Educational</u></b>							
Group Language Status 1984 – Educational	Protest 1985	.966	1.300	.0001 ****	.085	.0006 ****	
(sq)		-.232	-1.204	.0004 ****			
Group Language Status 1985 – Educational	Protest 1986	.963	1.286	.0002 ****	.086	.0005 ****	
(sq)		-.226	-1.167	.0006 ****			
Group Language Status 1986 – Educational	Protest 1987	.755	1.006	.0035 ***	.055	.0059 ***	
(sq)		-.169	-.870	.0112 **			
Group Language Status 1987 – Educational	Protest 1988	1.148	1.335	.0001 ****	.087	.0005 ****	
(sq)		-.284	-1.275	.0002 ****			
Group Language Status 1988 – Educational	Protest 1989	.732	.997	.0039 ***	.048	.0103 **	
(sq)		-.170	-.895	.0094 ***			
Group Language Status 1989 – Educational	Protest 1990	1.044	1.177	.0006 ****	.072	.0016 ***	
(sq)		-.243	1.057	.0020 ***			
Group Language Status 1990 – Educational	Protest 1991	.850	.982	.0044 ***	.050	.0091 ***	
(sq)		-.193	-.860	.0124 **			
Group Language Status 1991 – Educational	Protest 1992	1.187	1.383	.0000 ****	.128	.0000 ****	
(sq)		-.258	-1.162	.0005 ****			
Group Language Status 1992 – Educational	Protest 1993	.972	1.120	.0010 ****	.085	.0006 ****	
(sq)		-.207	-.924	.0063 ***			
Group Language Status 1993 – Educational	Protest 1994	1.123	1.381	.0000 ****	.111	.0001 ****	
(sq)		-.255	-1.211	.0003 ****			

<b>TABLE 17      Group Language Status and Group Protest – Quadratic Regression (Edu &amp; Idx)</b>						
Variable Statistics		Model Statistics				
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
<b>Index</b>						
Group Language Status 1984 – Index	Protest 1985	.219	.786	.0180 **	.030	.0415 **
(sq)		-.016	-.691	.0373 **		
Group Language Status 1985 – Index	Protest 1986	.233	.831	.0122 **	.037	.0238 **
(sq)		-.016	-.717	.0302 **		
Group Language Status 1986 – Index	Protest 1987	.180	.639	.0546 **	.024	.0648 *
(sq)		-.012	-.509	.1246		
Group Language Status 1987 – Index	Protest 1988	.248	.771	.0206 **	.025	.0578 *
(sq)		-.018	-.701	.0351 **		
Group Language Status 1988 – Index	Protest 1989	.195	.708	.0325 **	.029	.0447 **
(sq)		-.013	-.582	.0786 *		
Group Language Status 1989 – Index	Protest 1990	.289	.870	.0083 ***	.051	.0080 ***
(sq)		-.019	-.708	.0309 **		
Group Language Status 1990 – Index	Protest 1991	.181	.557	.0932 *	.025	.0564 *
(sq)		-.011	-.399	.2281		
Group Language Status 1991 – Index	Protest 1992	.235	.731	.0256 **	.055	.0060 ***
(sq)		-.014	-.521	.1101		
Group Language Status 1992 – Index	Protest 1993	.214	.657	.0450 **	.053	.0070 ***
(sq)		-.012	-.438	.1798		
Group Language Status 1993 – Index	Protest 1994	.229	.753	.0228 **	.039	.0207
(sq)		-.015	-.598	.0696 *		
Number of cases = 151		Significance: *.10    **.05    ***.01    ****.001				

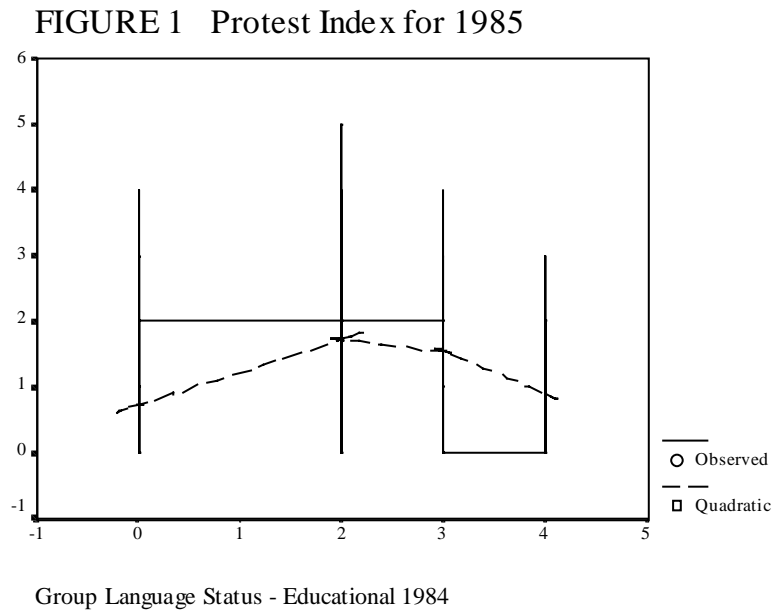


FIGURE 2 Protest Index for 1985

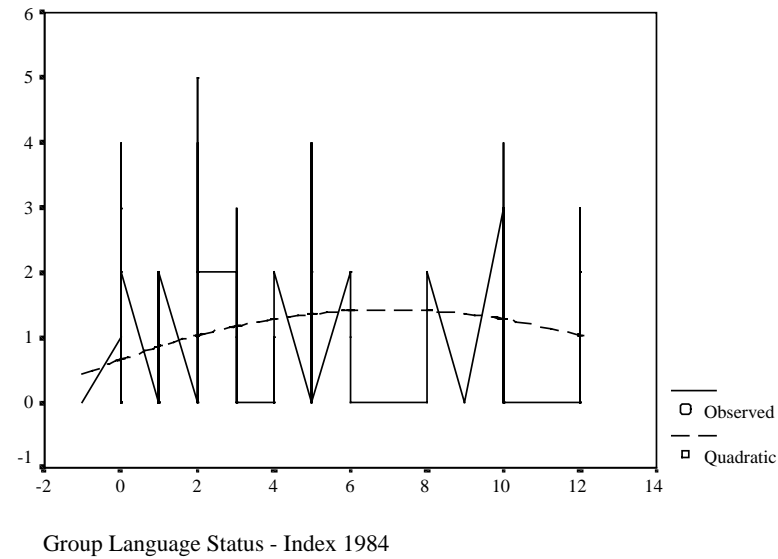


TABLE 18 Group Language Status and Group Rebellion - Quadratic Regression (Gen & Idx)						
Variable Statistics		Model Statistics				
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
<b>General</b>						
Group Language Status 1984 - General	Rebellion 1985	1.394	1.189	.0017 ***	.055	.0054 ***
(sq)		-.326	-1.099	.0036 ***		
Group Language Status 1985 - General	Rebellion 1986	1.352	1.193	.0016 ***	.056	.0054 ***
(sq)		-.317	-1.107	.0034 ***		
Group Language Status 1986 - General	Rebellion 1987	1.576	1.402	.0002 ****	.084	.0006 ****
(sq)		-.365	-1.286	.0006 ****		
Group Language Status 1987 - General	Rebellion 1988	1.626	1.466	.0001 ****	.088	.0004 ****
(sq)		-.389	-1.388	.0002 ****		
Group Language Status 1988 - General	Rebellion 1989	1.859	1.567	.0000 ****	.106	.0001 ****
(sq)		-.434	-1.449	.0001 ****		
Group Language Status 1989 - General	Rebellion 1990	1.835	1.484	.0001 ****	.095	.0002 ****
(sq)		-.427	-1.366	.0003 ****		
Group Language Status 1990 - General	Rebellion 1991	2.231	1.746	.0000 ****	.132	.0000 ****
(sq)		-.527	-1.633	.0000 ****		
Group Language Status 1991 - General	Rebellion 1992	2.182	1.865	.0000 ****	.147	.0000 ****
(sq)		-.537	-1.818	.0000 ****		
Group Language Status 1992 - General	Rebellion 1993	1.720	1.512	.0001 ****	.093	.0003 ****
(sq)		-.416	-1.447	.0001 ****		
Group Language Status 1993 - General	Rebellion 1994	1.553	1.359	.0003 ****	.072	.0014 ***
(sq)		-.376	-1.302	.0006 ****		



TABLE 18 Group Language Status and Group Rebellion - Quadratic Regression (Gen & Idx)						
Variable Statistics		Model Statistics				
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
<b>Index</b>						
Group Language Status 1984 - Index	Rebellion 1985	.290	.666	.0430 **	.025	.0573 *
(sq)		-.019	-.542	.0992 *		
Group Language Status 1985 - Index	Rebellion 1986	.301	.716	.0296 **	.028	.0457 **
(sq)		-.020	-.596	.0695		
Group Language Status 1986 - Index	Rebellion 1987	.323	.733	.0185 **	.036	.0237 **
(sq)		-.022	-.635	.0522 *		
Group Language Status 1987 - Index	Rebellion 1988	.289	.702	.0334 **	.022	.0704 *
(sq)		-.020	-.608	.0648 *		
Group Language Status 1988 - Index	Rebellion 1989	.316	.718	.0291 **	.030	.0387 **
(sq)		-.021	-.588	.0732 *		
Group Language Status 1989 - Index	Rebellion 1990	.269	.584	.0757 *	.024	.0605 *
(sq)		-.016	-.438	.1819		
Group Language Status 1990 - Index	Rebellion 1991	.347	.730	.0265 **	.031	.0369 **
(sq)		-.023	-.601	.0667 *		
Group Language Status 1991 - Index	Rebellion 1992	.375	.863	.0088 **	.034	.0292 **
(sq)		-.028	-.802	.0147 **		
Group Language Status 1992 - Index	Rebellion 1993	.326	.772	.0193 **	.027	.0357 **
(sq)		-.024	-.692	.0357 **		
Group Language Status 1993 - Index	Rebellion 1994	.232	.545	.1001	.007	.2182
(sq)		-.017	-.481	.1464		
Number Of Cases = 151		Significance: *.10 **.05 ***.01 ****.001				

FIGURE 3 Rebellion Index for 1985

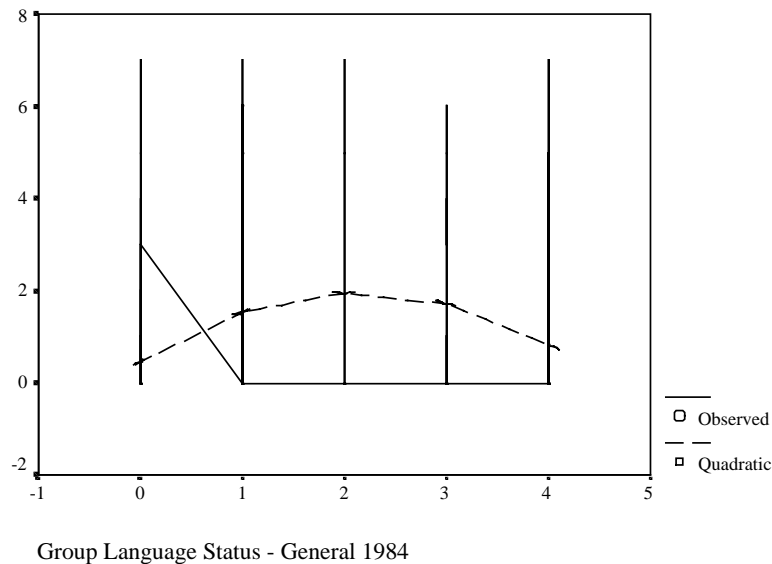
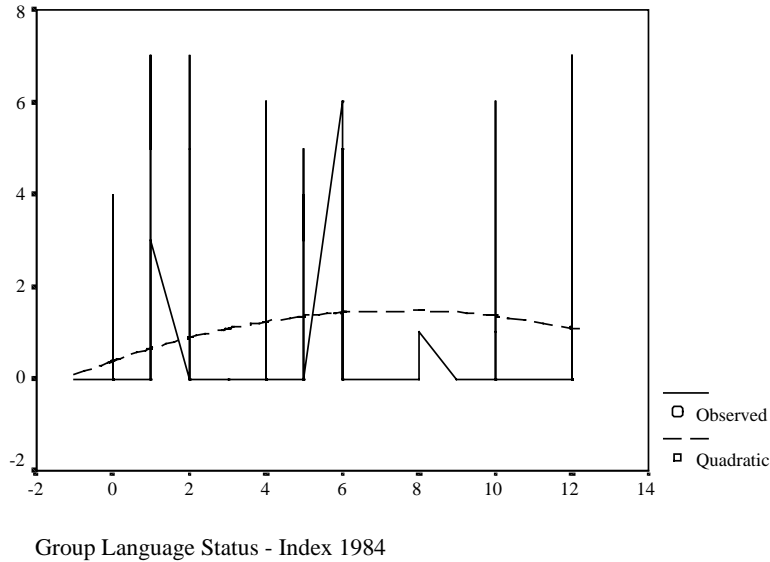


FIGURE 4 Rebellion Index for 1985

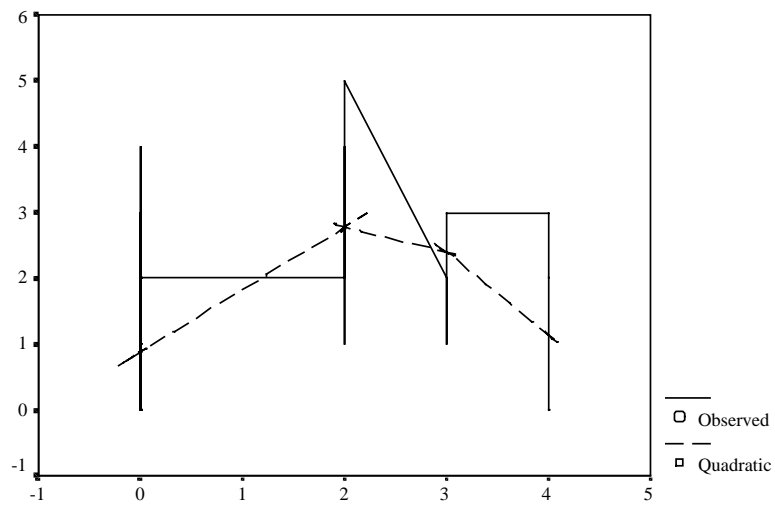


Tables 19-20 and Figures 5-9 show the language policy results. Educational language policy displays a significant relationship with country-level protest, accounting for 13% to 29% of the variance. The relationship of educational language policy to rebellion shows to be significant at individual points but not for the curve as a whole, and must be discounted. The language policy index does not show a consistently significant relationship with either protest or rebellion.

TABLE 19 Language Policy and Country Protest Score - Quadratic Regression (Educational & Index)						
Variable Statistics					Model Statistics	
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
<b>Educational</b>						
Language Policy 1984 - Educational (sq)	Country Protest 1985	1.829	1.592	.0024 ***	.132	.0032 ***
		-.441	-1.373	.0083 ***		
Language Policy 1985 - Educational (sq)	Country Protest 1986	2.030	1.738	.0008 ****	.160	.0011 ***
		-.493	-1.508	.0034 ***		
Language Policy 1986 - Educational (sq)	Country Protest 1987	1.724	1.528	.0034 ***	.138	.0026 ***
		-.402	-1.272	.0138 **		

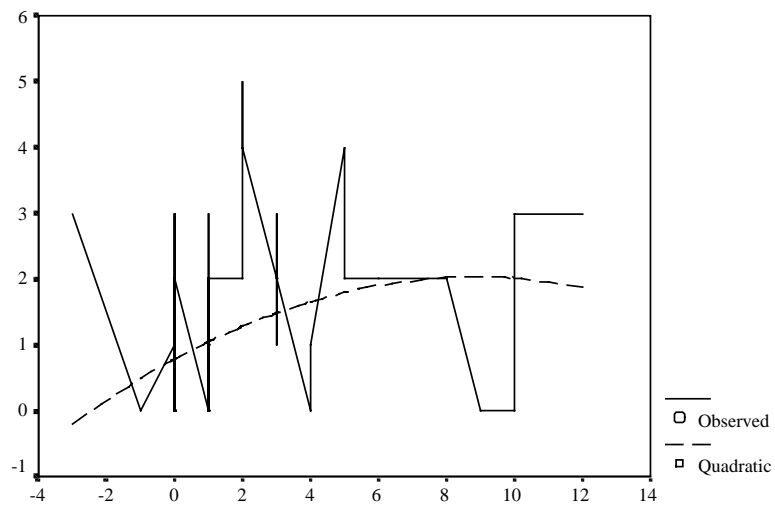
TABLE 19 Language Policy and Country Protest Score - Quadratic Regression (Educational & Index)							
Variable Statistics					Model Statistics		
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F	
Language Policy 1987 - Educational (sq)	Country Protest 1988	2.492 -.616	1.919 -1.695	.0002 **** .0009 ****	.189	.0003 ****	
Language Policy 1988 - Educational (sq)	Country Protest 1989	2.117 -.491	1.758 -1.457	.0006 **** .0038 **	.195	.0003 ****	
Language Policy 1989 - Educational (sq)	Country Protest 1990	2.748 -.644	1.954 -1.636	.0001 **** .0009 ****	.239	.0000 ****	
Language Policy 1990 - Educational (sq)	Country Protest 1991	2.343 -.563	1.715 -1.472	.0010 **** .0042 ***	.161	.0010 ****	
Language Policy 1991 - Educational (sq)	Country Protest 1992	2.560 -.604	1.829 -1.542	.0003 *** .0022 ***	.200	.0002 ****	
Language Policy 1992 - Educational (sq)	Country Protest 1993	2.531 -.597	1.769 -1.490	.0006 **** .0032 ***	.185	.0004 ****	
Language Policy 1993 - Educational (sq)	Country Protest 1994	2.760 -.640	2.105 -1.745	.0000 **** .0003 ****	.293	.0000 ****	
<b>Index</b>							
Language Policy 1984 - Index (sq)	Country Protest 1985	.281 -.016	.586 -.315	.0547 * .2968	.075	.0273 **	
Language Policy 1985 - Index (sq)	Country Protest 1986	.314 -.018	.644 -.362	.0338 ** .2270	.089	.0163 **	
Language Policy 1986 - Index (sq)	Country Protest 1987	.283 -.016	.600 -.325	.0487 ** .2802	.079	.0236 **	
Language Policy 1987 - Index (sq)	Country Protest 1988	.317 -.016	.583 -.279	.0537 * .3510	.091	.0150 **	
Language Policy 1988 - Index (sq)	Country Protest 1989	.262 -.008	.520 -.160	.0804 * .5863	.117	.0059 ***	
Language Policy 1989 - Index (sq)	Country Protest 1990	.457 -.027	.777 -.434	.0087 *** .1360	.146	.0019 ***	
Language Policy 1990 - Index (sq)	Country Protest 1991	.282 -.014	.494 -.231	.1063 .4464	.060	.0474 **	
Language Policy 1991 - Index (sq)	Country Protest 1992	.262 -.012	.448 -.204	.1455 .5053	.046	.0766 *	
Language Policy 1992 - Index (sq)	Country Protest 1993	.284 -.013	.475 -.210	.1203 .4893	.059	.0493 **	
Language Policy 1993 - Index (sq)	Country Protest 1994	.288 -.016	.525 -.277	.0875 * .3638	.057	.0528 *	
Number of Cases = 70		Significance: *.10 **.05 ***.01 ****.001					

FIGURE 5 Country Protest Score for 1985



Constitutional Language Policy - Educational 1984

FIGURE 6 Country Protest Score for 1985

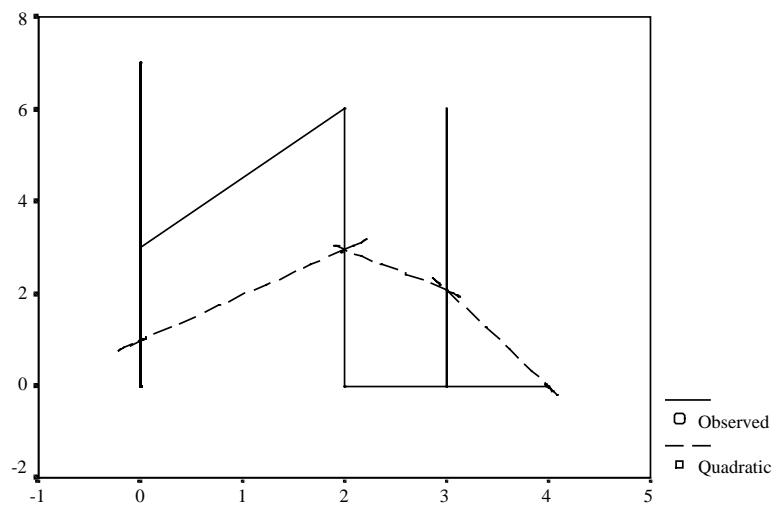


Constitutional Language Policy Index 1984

<b>TABLE 20      Language Policy and Country Rebellion Score - Quadratic Regression (Educational &amp; Index)</b>						
Variable Statistics					Model Statistics	
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
<b><u>Educational</u></b>						
Language Policy 1984 – Educational	Country Rebellion 1985	2.221	1.133	.0368 **	.036	.1093
(sq)		-.618	-1.127	.0378 **		
Language Policy 1985 – Educational	Country Rebellion 1986	2.197	1.151	.0337 **	.038	.1006
(sq)		-.614	-1.150	.0339 **		
Language Policy 1986 – Educational	Country Rebellion 1987	2.185	1.147	.0344 **	.038	.1018
(sq)		-.612	-1.149	.0342 **		
Language Policy 1987 – Educational	Country Rebellion 1988	2.053	1.093	.0440 **	.033	.1201
(sq)		-.585	-1.113	.0403 **		
Language Policy 1988 – Educational	Country Rebellion 1989	2.230	1.153	.0333 **	.040	.0954 *
(sq)		-.633	-1.169	.0310 **		
Language Policy 1989 – Educational	Country Rebellion 1990	2.053	.982	.0713 *	.020	.1888
(sq)		-.577	-.987	.0700 *		
Language Policy 1990 – Educational	Country Rebellion 1991	2.065	.969	.0753 *	.019	.1986
(sq)		-.579	-.971	.0747 *		
Language Policy 1991 – Educational	Country Rebellion 1992	1.972	1.007	.0643 *	.022	.1773
(sq)		-.545	-.996	.0674 *		
Language Policy 1992 - Educational	Country Rebellion 1993	2.116	1.080	.0470 **	.030	.1369
(sq)		-.574	-1.047	.0538 *		
Language Policy 1993 - Educational	Country Rebellion 1994	2.125	1.045	.0546 *	.026	.1543
(sq)		-.589	-1.035	.0570 *		
<b><u>Index</u></b>						
Language Policy 1984 - Index	Country Rebellion 1985	.488	.595	.0573 *	.025	.1609
(sq)		-.048	-.563	.0718 *		
Language Policy 1985 - Index	Country Rebellion 1986	.482	.604	.0535 *	.026	.1520
(sq)		-.047	-.571	.0677 *		
Language Policy 1986 - Index	Country Rebellion 1987	.492	.618	.0480 **	.029	.1385
(sq)		-.049	-.585	.0610 *		
Language Policy 1987 - Index	Country Rebellion 1988	.350	.446	.1563	.002	.3530
(sq)		-.036	-.441	.1613		
Language Policy 1988 - Index	Country Rebellion 1989	.251	.311	.3253	-.014	.5901
(sq)		-.027	-.321	.3094		
Language Policy 1989 - Index	Country Rebellion 1990	.369	.422	.1800	-.002	.4031
(sq)		-.035	-.380	.2271		
Language Policy 1990 - Index	Country Rebellion 1991	.266	.299	.3446	-.016	.6361
(sq)		-.025	-.267	.3978		

<b>TABLE 20      Language Policy and Country Rebellion Score - Quadratic Regression (Educational &amp; Index)</b>						
Variable Statistics				Model Statistics		
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Language Policy 1991 - Index	Country Rebellion 1992	.243	.297	.3475	-.016	.6394
(sq)		-.023	-.265	.4019		
Language Policy 1992 - Index	Country Rebellion 1993	.216	.264	.4039	-.017	.6472
(sq)		-.017	-.193	.5406		
Language Policy 1993 - Index	Country Rebellion 1994	.243	.286	.3658	-.017	.6621
(sq)		-.023	-.261	.4096		
Number of Cases = 70		Significance: *.10    **.05    ***.01 ****.001				

**FIGURE 7    Country Rebellion Score for 1985**



Constitutional Language Policy - Educational 1984

FIGURE 8 Country Rebellion Score for 1985

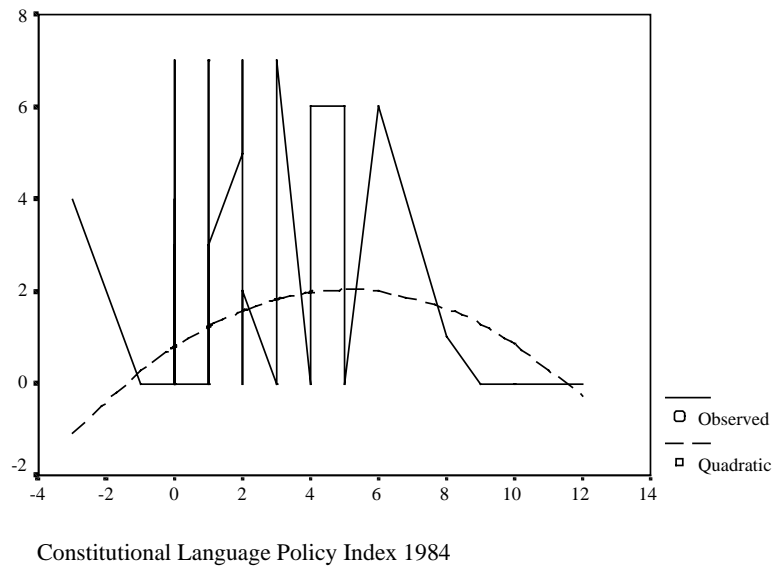
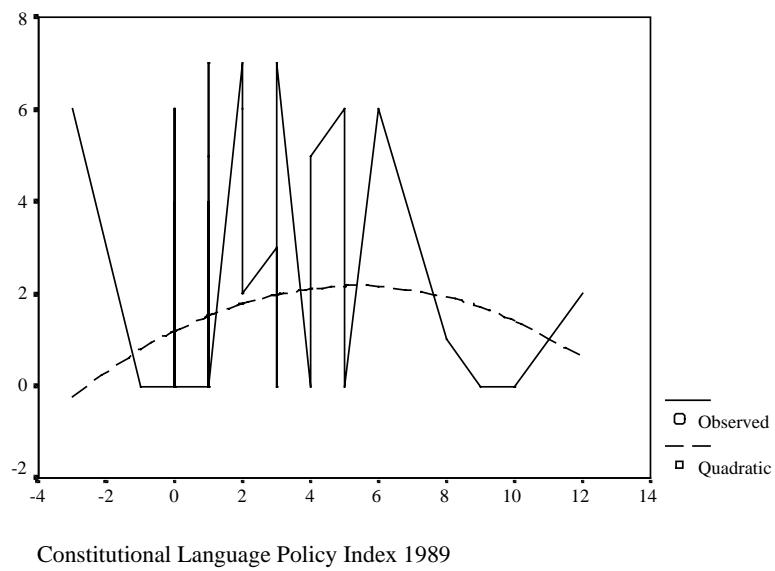


FIGURE 9 Country Rebellion Score for 1990



Results for the country differential variables are listed in Tables 21-22 and Figures 10-21. Country variation in group language status under educational policy shows a significant relationship with country-level protest, accounting for 13% to 25% of the variance, and the index variable accounts for 16% to 27% of the same. The variation in status under general policy shows a significant relationship with country rebellion but accounts for only 2% to 7% of the variance, with the index accounting for slightly less. The results for the country variation in group language status in the administrative/judicial and general policy areas as they relate to country protest are shown simply for mathematical interest; although the curves show to be significant, the points on the curves generally are not. A look at the graphs shows that while the curves may be mathematically significant they are not in the expected shape, being in most cases positive for their entire length. No predictive value is assumed for these particular variables.



<b>TABLE 21      Language Policy Differential and Country Protest - Quadratic Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics				Model Statistics		
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
<b><u>Administrative/Judicial</u></b>						
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1984 – Administrative/Judicial (sq)	Country Protest 1985	1.447	1.475	.3426	.274	.0000 ****
		-.230	-.938	.5455		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1985 – Administrative/Judicial (sq)	Country Protest 1986	1.447	1.451	.3536	.264	.0000 ****
		-.230	-.923	.5546		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1986 – Administrative/Judicial (sq)	Country Protest 1987	1.382	1.435	.3770	.206	.0002 ****
		-.232	-.963	.5527		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1987 – Administrative/Judicial (sq)	Country Protest 1988	2.488	2.244	.1777	.173	.0006 ****
		-.505	-1.821	.2729		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1988 – Administrative/Judicial (sq)	Country Protest 1989	2.456	2.388	.1515	.174	.0006 ****
		-.506	-1.967	.2363		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1989 – Administrative/Judicial (sq)	Country Protest 1990	2.042	1.701	.3258	.100	.0108 **
		-.408	-1.360	.4315		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1990 – Administrative/Judicial (sq)	Country Protest 1991	1.954	1.675	.3050	.200	.0002 ****
		-.354	-1.212	.4570		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1991 – Administrative/Judicial (sq)	Country Protest 1992	2.109	1.765	.2821	.192	.0003 ****
		-.392	-1.312	.4230		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1992 – Administrative/Judicial (sq)	Country Protest 1993	2.118	1.734	.2992	.163	.0010 ****
		-.401	-1.314	.4308		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1993 – Administrative/Judicial (sq)	Country Protest 1994	.963	.860	.5863	.246	.0000 ****
		-.096	-.344	.8276		
<b><u>Education</u></b>						
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1984 – Educational (sq)	Country Protest 1985	1.821	1.510	.0017 ***	.249	.0000 ****
		-.342	-1.079	.0240 **		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1985 – Educational (sq)	Country Protest 1986	2.018	1.647	.0007 ****	.237	.0000 ****
		-.405	-1.257	.0086 ***		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1986 – Educational (sq)	Country Protest 1987	1.834	1.550	.0018 ***	.193	.0003 ****
		-.374	-1.203	.0142 **		

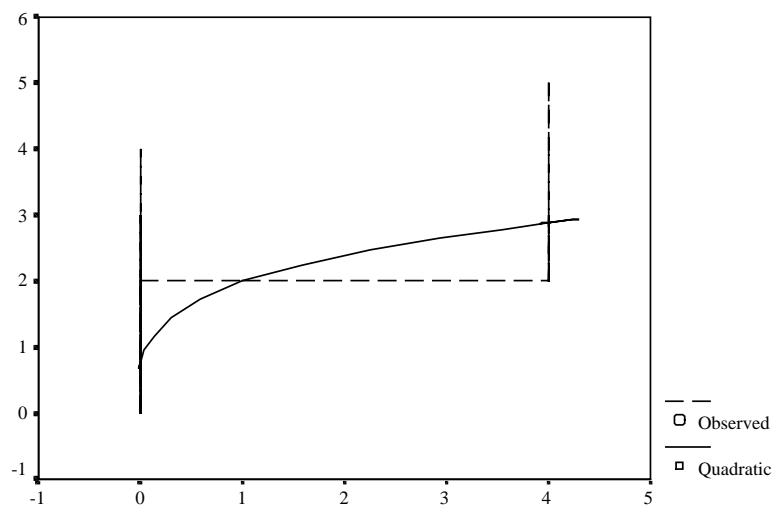
<b>TABLE 21      Language Policy Differential and Country Protest - Quadratic Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics				Model Statistics		
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1987 – Educational (sq)	Country Protest 1988	1.562	1.146	.0220 **	.156	.0013 ***
		-.279	-.780	.1153		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1988 – Educational (sq)	Country Protest 1989	1.569	1.241	.0147 **	.156	.0013 ***
		-.295	-.889	.0732 *		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1989 – Educational (sq)	Country Protest 1990	2.442	1.654	.0013 ***	.144	.0020 ***
		-.559	-1.442	.0046 ***		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1990 – Educational (sq)	Country Protest 1991	1.968	1.372	.0053 ***	.200	.0002 ****
		-.369	-.980	.0432 **		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1991 – Educational (sq)	Country Protest 1992	2.318	1.575	.0015 ***	.197	.0002 ****
		-.475	-1.230	.0121 **		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1992 – Educational (sq)	Country Protest 1993	1.805	1.202	.0178 **	.136	.0028 ***
		-.346	-.876	.0810 *		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1993 – Educational (sq)	Country Protest 1994	2.494	1.811	.0002 ****	.248	.0000 ****
		-.523	-.1445	.0026 ***		
<b>General</b>						
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1984 – General (sq)	Country Protest 1985	1.209	1.162	.0903 *	.179	.0005 ****
		-.198	-.737	.2797		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1985 – General (sq)	Country Protest 1986	1.238	1.713	.0940 *	.147	.0018 ***
		-.216	-.788	.2573		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1986 – General (sq)	Country Protest 1987	1.578	1.545	.0274 **	.157	.0012 ***
		-.312	-1.179	.0890 *		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1987 – General (sq)	Country Protest 1988	1.309	1.113	.1150	.127	.0039 ***
		-.229	-.752	.2849		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1988 – General (sq)	Country Protest 1989	1.713	1.571	.0224 **	.189	.0003 ****
		-.329	-1.165	.0876 *		

<b>TABLE 21      Language Policy Differential and Country Protest - Quadratic Regression</b>						
Variable Statistics				Model Statistics		
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1989 – General (sq)	Country Protest 1990	1.197	.940	.2012	.047	.0736 *
		-.231	-.700	.3399		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1990 – General (sq)	Country Protest 1991	1.319	1.066	.1330	.118	.0056 ***
		-.229	-.714	.3118		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1991 – General (sq)	Country Protest 1992	1.378	1.088	.1273	.109	.0079 ***
		-.246	-.751	.2900		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1992 – General (sq)	Country Protest 1993	1.861	1.436	.0392 **	.163	.0010 ****
		-.353	-1.052	.1280		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1993 – General (sq)	Country Protest 1994	2.271	1.912	.0047 ***	.234	.0000 ****
		-.457	-1.486	.0261 **		
<b>Index</b>						
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1984 – Index (sq)	Country Protest 1985	.536	1.413	.0108 **	.271	.0000 ****
		-.032	-.918	.0930 *		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1985 – Index (sq)	Country Protest 1986	.662	1.719	.0025 ***	.268	.0000 ****
		-.045	-1.261	.0225 **		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1986 – Index (sq)	Country Protest 1987	.654	1.757	.0022 ***	.238	.0000 ****
		-.046	-1.341	.0176 **		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1987 – Index (sq)	Country Protest 1988	.559	1.304	.0253 **	.184	.0004 ****
		-.036	-.899	.1196		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1988 – Index (sq)	Country Protest 1989	.752	1.891	.0010 ***	.248	.0000 ****
		-.055	-1.483	.0085 ***		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1989 – Index (sq)	Country Protest 1990	.864	1.861	.0020 ***	.159	.0011 ***
		-.069	-1.588	.0078 ***		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1990 – Index (sq)	Country Protest 1991	.636	1.410	.0145 **	.208	.0001 ****
		-.041	-.985	.0839 *		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1991 – Index (sq)	Country Protest 1992	.778	1.685	.0036 ***	.215	.0001 ****
		-.055	-1.287	.0244 **		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1992 – Index (sq)	Country Protest 1993	.849	1.798	.0019 ***	.224	.0001 ****
		-.062	-1.406	.0138 ***		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1993 – Index (sq)	Country Protest 1994	.936	2.068	.0002 ****	.258	.0000 ****
		-.071	-1.692	.0019 ***		
Number of cases = 151		Significance: *.10    **.05    ***.01 ****.001				

TABLE 22 Language Policy Differential and Country Rebellion - Quadratic Regression (General & Index)							
Variable Statistics					Model Statistics		
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F	
<b>General</b>							
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1984 – General (sq)	Country Rebellion 1985	3.000	1.689	.0224 **	.062	.0439 **	
		-.822	-1.789	.0158 **			
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1985 – General (sq)	Country Rebellion 1986	2.298	1.329	.0738 *	.038	.1022	
		-.650	-1.453	.0513 *			
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1986 – General (sq)	Country Rebellion 1987	2.956	1.715	.0202 **	.067	.0364 **	
		-.815	-1.826	.0137 **			
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1987 – General (sq)	Country Rebellion 1988	2.608	1.533	.0384 **	.054	.0579 *	
		-.729	-1.656	.0257 **			
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1988 – General (sq)	Country Rebellion 1989	2.550	1.456	.0502 *	.042	.0875 *	
		-.707	-1.556	.0364 **			
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1989 – General (sq)	Country Rebellion 1990	2.857	1.510	.0432 **	.036	.1103	
		-.762	-1.556	.0374 **			
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1990 – General (sq)	Country Rebellion 1991	3.298	1.709	.0209 **	.062	.0435 **	
		-.900	-1.802	.0151 **			
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1991 – General (sq)	Country Rebellion 1992	2.658	1.500	.0449 **	.033	.1208	
		-.702	-1.531	.0407 **			
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1992 – General (sq)	Country Rebellion 1993	2.408	1.356	.0696 *	.028	.1420	
		-.658	-1.432	.0558 *			
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1993 – General (sq)	Country Rebellion 1994	2.325	1.263	.0912 *	.024	.1650	
		-.643	-1.351	.0714 *			
<b>Index</b>							
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1984 – Index (sq)	Country Rebellion 1985	.760	1.175	.0639 *	.023	.1707	
		-.072	-1.187	.0613 *			
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1985 – Index (sq)	Country Rebellion 1986	.693	1.100	.0825 *	.021	.1815	
		-.068	-1.155	.0687 *			
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1986 – Index (sq)	Country Rebellion 1987	.744	1.183	.0619 *	.024	.1628	
		-.070	-1.204	.0577 *			
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1987 – Index (sq)	Country Rebellion 1988	.681	1.098	.0835 *	.019	.1932	
		-.066	-1.141	.0723 *			
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1988 – Index (sq)	Country Rebellion 1989	.698	1.093	.0851 *	.017	.2071	
		-.067	-1.122	.0773 *			
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1989 – Index (sq)	Country Rebellion 1990	.891	1.293	.0410 **	.034	.1184	
		-.083	-1.299	.0401 **			
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1990 – Index (sq)	Country Rebellion 1991	.768	1.092	.0853 *	.017	.2072	
		-.073	-1.122	.0774 *			

<b>TABLE 22 Language Policy Differential and Country Rebellion - Quadratic Regression (General &amp; Index)</b>						
Variable Statistics			Model Statistics			
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	B	Beta	Sig. t	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Sig. F
(sq)		-.073	-1.122	.0774 *		
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1991 – Index (sq)	Country Rebellion 1992	.558	.864	.1758	-.002	.3971
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1992 – Index (sq)	Country Rebellion 1993	.683	1.056	.0962 *	.011	.2498
Difference of Highest and Lowest Group Language Status in Country 1993 – Index (sq)	Country Rebellion 1994	.655	.934	.1272	.012	.2498
		-.065	-.995	.1044		
Number of cases = 70		Significance: *.10 ** .05 *** .01 ****.001				

FIGURE 10 Country Protest Score for 1985



Country Language Policy Differential - Adm/Judicial 1984

FIGURE 11 Country Protest Score for 1988

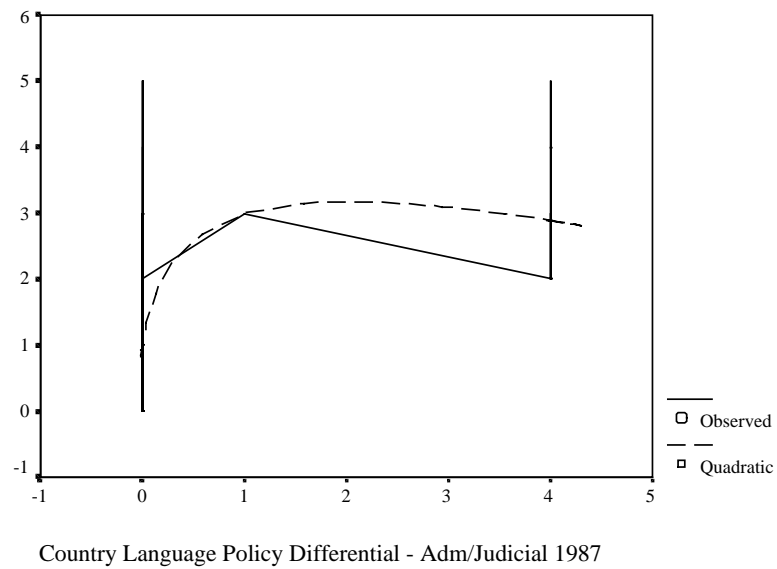


FIGURE 12 Country Protest Score for 1991

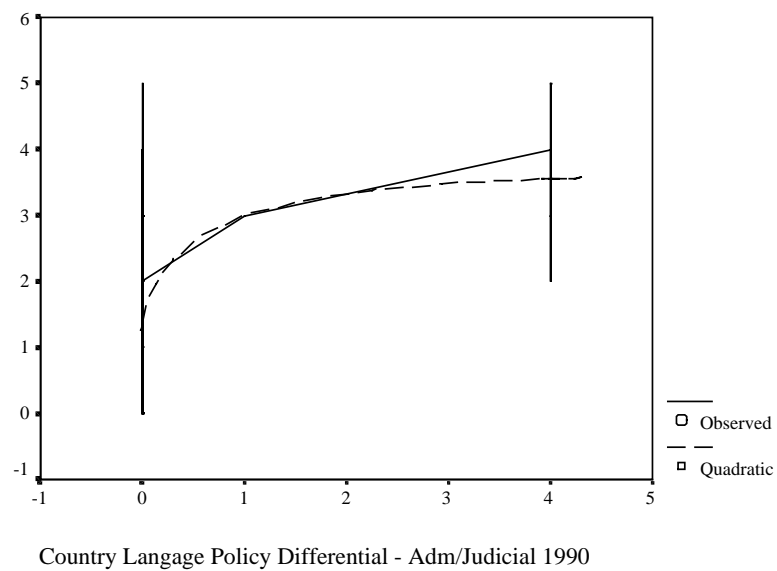


FIGURE 13 Country Protest Score for 1985

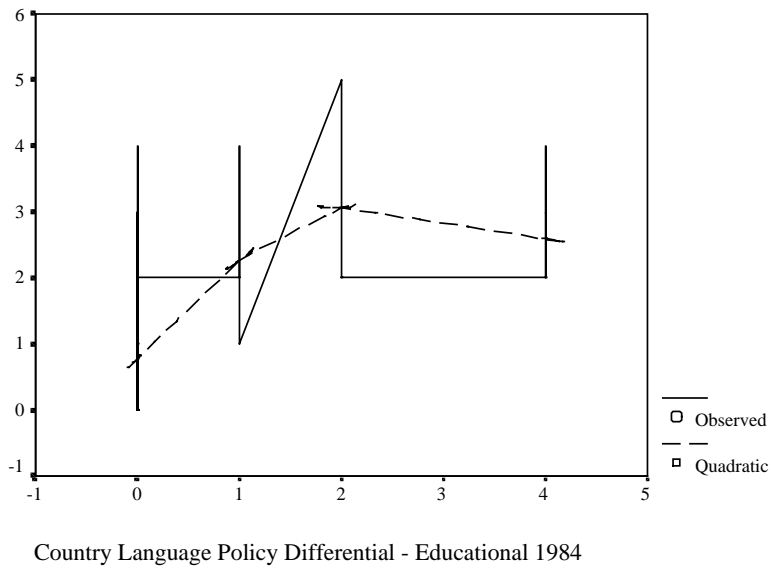


FIGURE 14 Country Protest Score for 1990

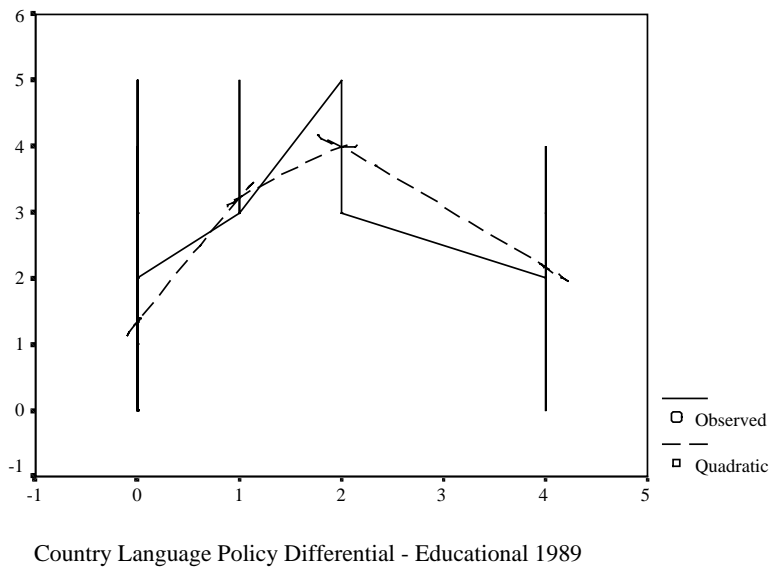


FIGURE 15 Country Protest Score for 1985

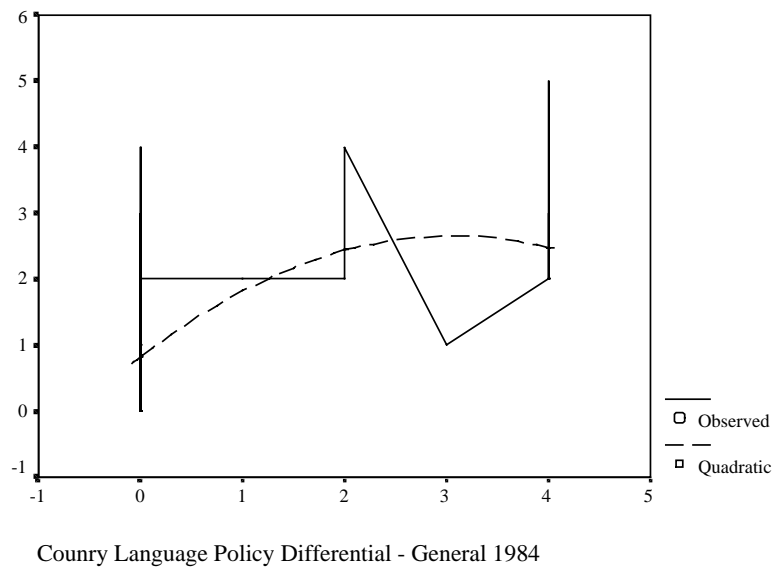


FIGURE 16 Country Protest Score for 1989

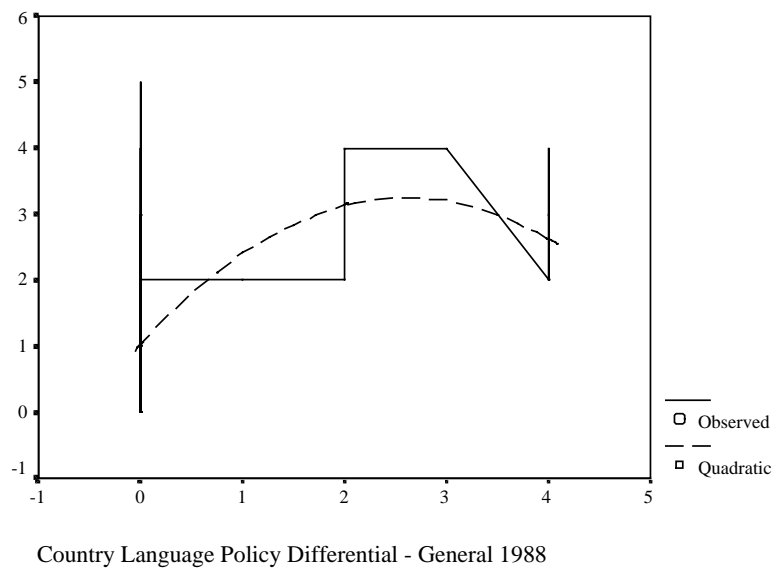




FIGURE 17 Country Protest Score for 1994

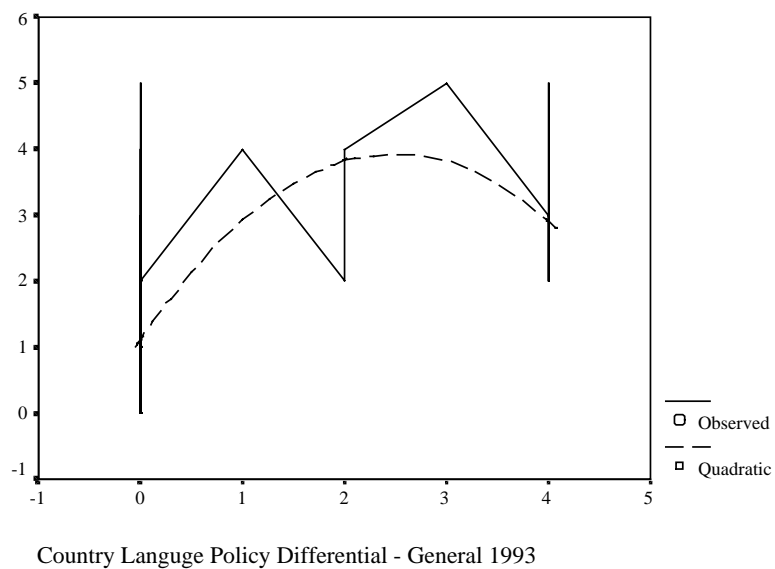


FIGURE 18 Country Protest Score for 1985

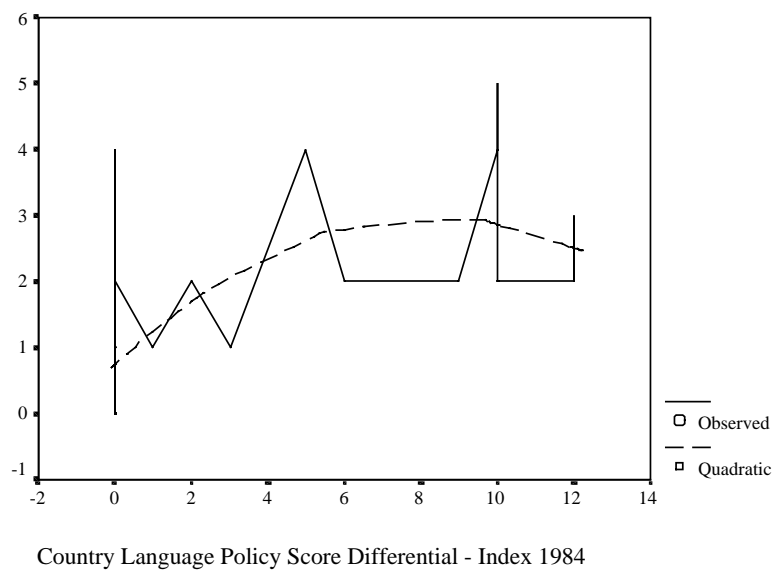


FIGURE 19 Country Protest Score for 1990

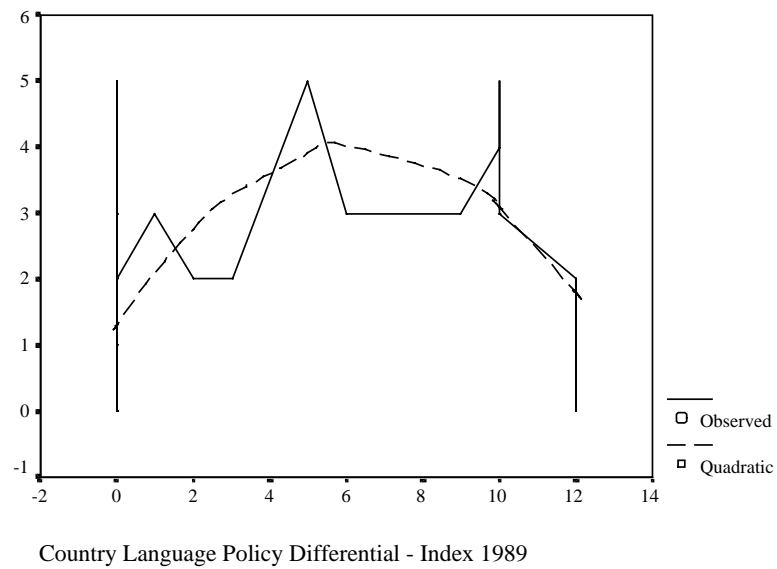


FIGURE 20 Country Rebellion Score for 1985

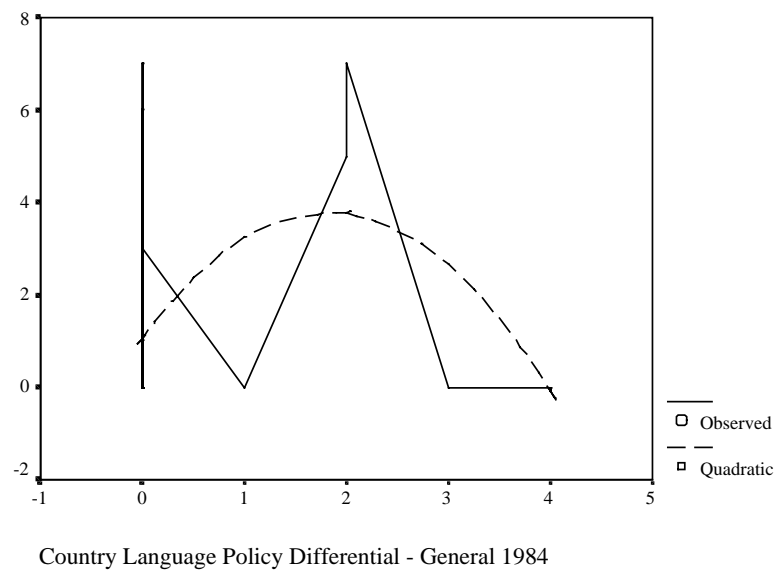
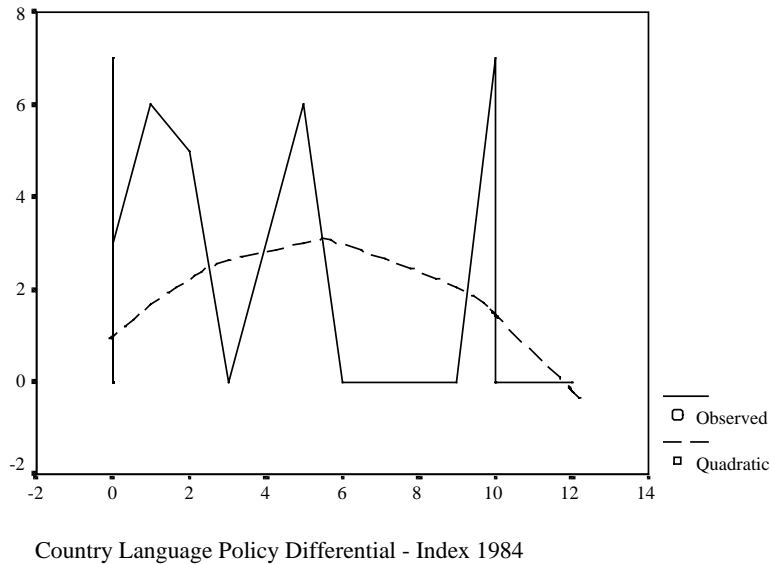


FIGURE 21 Country Rebellion Score for 1985



To summarize, the following variable relationships are revealed through the implementation of this research design:

- (1) For groups whose language status is below a point on the scale which allows them a threshold level of access to government services, protest and rebellion are related positively to group language status in one policy area or another. Groups whose language status is above that point engage in less protest and rebellion as their language status moves up the scale. The highest point of the curve is in a different spot on the scale for each type of language policy.
- (2) Of the independent variables studied, the best predictors of country-level protest, again in a convex curvilinear relationship, appear to be educational language policy and the index of the difference in a country's constitutional provisions for the most favored language groups and least

avored language groups within a country. Group language status under general language policy is the best predictor of rebellion.

- (3) The extent by which a group's language status is lower than that of minority languages in general does not generally show a significant relationship with either protest or rebellion and can therefore be discounted as having any predictive value.
- (4) Country-level protest and rebellion have a strong positive relationship in a linear fashion, and an even stronger relationship in a curvilinear fashion, to the difference in a country's constitutional provisions for the most favored language groups and least favored language groups within a country. The educational language policy differential is specifically related to protest, and the general language policy differential is specifically related to rebellion.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESEARCH

Unexpected findings are exciting. They challenge assumptions and make us look at the world differently. But in order to understand more clearly the statistical results of this study, we have to look at what is actually being measured. Political action may require a certain level of language status before it can be effectively put into motion. Protest is an integral part of political participation. Groups that have a stronger language resource than others may feel more free to risk elements of their life not related to language. The positive relationship between language status variation and protest and rebellion may mean that countries which specify one or more levels of recognized languages but make no constitutional provision for minority language in general, and have politicized minority groups residing in their territory, have paved the way for increased protest. This does not explain, however, why rebellion does not have the same relationship as protest.

The finding of a convex curvilinear relationship between (1) language policy and/or its differentials and (2) protest and rebellion fits to a certain extent with Gurr's earlier finding (1979: 232-237) of a convex curvilinear relationship between (1) the ratio of coercive control by a regime's dissidents to coercive control by the regime and (2) political violence. The lesser positive linear relationship found between language policy differentials and protest and rebellion ties in with Feierabend, Feierabend and Nesvold's

finding of a positive linear relationship between systemic social frustration and political instability. Although systemic frustration is defined by the ratio of amenities in a country (indicators of satisfaction) to literacy and urbanization (indicators of want), a comparison could be made using the highest group status within a country as the “want” indicator and the lowest as the “satisfaction” measure.

The literature strongly associates language and power. That power is usually deemed to be held by a majority language group and is perceived as the power to control. But perhaps it is also the power of a minority group to engage in protest. Several scholars reviewed earlier argue that language serves primarily as a symbolic resource in group mobilization. Others hold that language is important to a people in and of itself. If the relationship between constitutional language policy, protest and rebellion is any indication, both arguments are correct. Language as a resource trumps language as an issue until a threshold level of that resource is obtained, after which language as an issue has the upper hand.

Alternatively, it may also be that up to a certain point, nonlanguage issues are stronger producers of conflict than language issues. To investigate this possibility, a compositional time series analysis could be used to measure the change in the importance of language as an issue for a particular group and to discover the associated change in protest and rebellion.

Laitin (1992, 4) sees a circular nature to the relationship between language policy and individual language choice: “A state’s language policy seeks to influence, yet is a product of, the language repertoires of its citizens.” Might there not be the same type of

relationship between language policy, protest and rebellion? Heine (1990, 179) implies as much in his reference to “[t]he interplay between language policy...and people’s reactions to it.” After all, protest and rebellion are forms of political action, and political action is taken precisely for the purpose of influencing policy. The psychological principle of intermittent reinforcement implies that if protest and rebellion were not at least occasionally successful in the attempt to influence policy, they would become less and less common and eventually die out. This suggests that another avenue for future study would be to reverse the causal arrow assumed in the present study and examine the possible influence of protest and rebellion on language policy.

Schiffman (1996, 28-30, 48-54) suggests that language policy should be categorized by how well it fits the language regime of a country. Varennes (1998, 123) asserts that language-based ethnic tension arises from the avoidance or denial of the existence of language issues, claiming (Varennes 1998, 275) that language-based conflict generally results from a level of access for a language group which is relatively low considering the proportion of a country’s population that belongs to that particular group. Kloss’s “statistical rank order” measure of actual language use could be employed to compare with the language policy coding to produce a measure of policy fit. Schiffman (1996, 19) also emphasizes that local policy may vary greatly from state policy, especially in countries with a federalist structure.

This study involves the simplest type of language policy to examine and is meant to provide a basis for studies of more complex policies. A logical next step would be to study regional policies within federalist systems. From there, case studies of a few

countries at a time could be used to isolate provincial, municipal and other levels of policy and would add considerably to our knowledge of how language policy influences protest and rebellion and vice versa.

The gap between policy and implementation provides another important area of research. The results of this study could be confounded by a disparity between stated constitutional policy and actual practice as experienced by the individual members of a language group. This difference almost certainly contributes error to the measured outcomes. Reitzes and Crawhall (1998, 19) attribute some of this gap to a lack of intragovernmental coordination of language policy. For example, while China's constitution declares all languages equal, Bradley (1995, 1) observes that this idealistic condition is not borne out in the real world. Instead, minority languages must be recognized as minority languages. To that end, many small language groups are lumped into one classification and assigned one recognized language which may or may not be mutually intelligible with the languages of each group being consolidated.

To measure the effect of international treaty provisions dealing with language on protest and rebellion, coding of international treaties containing minority language rights could be added to the country data set created in the current study. Signatory information for these treaties is found in the same source as the current constitutional language policy data. A pooled cross-section analysis using constitutional language policy data from historical sources would involve considerable data gathering but would make a valuable contribution to language policy study. Protest and rebellion data for most or all of the countries coded for 1985-94 are also available for 1995-98, allowing for flexibility in



determining a suitable time lag between the independent and dependent variables.

Another possibility for assessing lags in the effect of language policy and group language status on protest and rebellion involves calculating the number of years from a policy's effective date and using either that number or an interval designation (e.g. 0-2 years, 3-5 years, 6-10 years) as an intervening variable.

While the present study concentrates on mother tongue language and how it is affected by language policy, another area of study is that of access to other languages for purposes of socioeconomic betterment. Edwards (1985, 119) argues that while "schools can be instruments of ethnic or nationalist policy...governments may adopt a pluralist stance as a way of keeping minorities subordinated while appearing to attend to their needs." This argument is in line with the opinion of many linguistic minority group members who oppose bilingual education in the U.S., fearing the creation or maintenance of a second class citizenship under the guise of ethnic cooperation. Varennes (1998, 216) refers to South African citizens who consider an education in English to be an essential asset for their children. Chaklader (1990, 91) records resistance to change from English to Bengali for educational purposes from a large portion of the population due to the belief that English is a necessary qualification for higher education and good jobs. Merging these types of situations with the current study would present a considerable challenge.

Many other possibilities no doubt exist. As the areas suggested above are pursued, more avenues for research should make themselves visible. As stated earlier, further research should involve other independent variables in the analysis in addition to

the language policy variables shown here to be significant contributors to protest or rebellion. It may be that the relationships found in this study will disappear into the effect of stronger variables, especially if those variables are highly correlated with language policy. The purpose of this study of language policy, protest and rebellion was to test the commonly-held assumptions concerning the role of language in conflict and to lead the way for more empirical studies in this field. As the research has produced as many questions as answers, I believe it has accomplished its purpose.

## APPENDIX A

LANGUAGE POLICY COUNTRY DATA FORM

GROUP LANGUAGE STATUS DATA FORM

SCORING SUMMARY FORM

# CONSTITUTIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY COUNTRY DATA FORM

Country: \_\_\_\_\_ Prepared by: \_\_\_\_\_ on: \_\_/\_\_/\_\_  
 Date of Constitution: \_\_\_\_\_ New\_\_ or Amended \_\_

Language(s) of Constitution:

1 _____	4 _____
2 _____	5 _____
3 _____	6 _____

Official Language(s):

1 _____	7 _____
2 _____	8 _____
3 _____	9 _____
4 _____	10 _____
5 _____	11 _____
6 _____	12 _____

National or Vernacular Languages:

1 _____	4 _____
2 _____	5 _____
3 _____	6 _____

Other Protected Languages:

1 _____	4 _____
2 _____	5 _____
3 _____	6 _____

"Link Language," "Language of Cultural Ties" or similarly designated language:

\_\_\_\_\_

A. Language Policy Regarding Political, Judicial  
and Administrative Systems:

Coding:

- |  |    |
|--|----|
| ___ Allows use of native language for all court proceedings                              | 4  |
| ___ Requires interpretation in both civil and criminal cases                             | 3  |
| ___ Allows use of native language for federal agency proceedings                         | 2  |
| ___ Requires interpretation of charges and trial in criminal cases                       | 1  |
| ___ No provision / To be determined by law   | 0  |
| ___ Allows use of native language in court for foreigners only                           | -1 |
| ___ Limits legislative positions to native speakers of official language                 | -2 |
| ___ Limits voting rights to native speakers of official language                         | -3 |
| ___ Forbids use of specific language(s) listed below or of language(s) prohibited by law | -4 |

_____	_____
_____	_____

# CONSTITUTIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY COUNTRY DATA FORM

Country: \_\_\_\_\_

Year of Constitution: \_\_\_\_\_

Page 2

## B. Language Policy Regarding Education:

Coding:

- |  |    |
|--|----|
| _____ Provides for teaching of native language at all levels or as an open-ended right   | 4  |
| _____ Provides for teaching of native language through secondary level or for teaching of any language in public and private education | 3  |
| _____ Provides for teaching of native language through primary level or as a general right subject to national interest                | 2  |
| _____ Allows teaching of native language on temporary basis only, or protects rights under existing law or custom                      | 1  |
| _____ No provision / To be determined by law   | 0  |
| _____ Allows native language teaching for immigrants only  | -1 |
| _____ Education is given only in official language(s)  | -2 |
| _____ Forbids teaching of specific language(s) listed below or of languages prohibited by law  | -3 |
| _____ Forbids use of specific language(s) listed below or of languages prohibited by law   | -4 |

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## C. Language Policy Regarding Media, Employment and General Matters:

Coding:

- |   |    |
|---|----|
| _____ Requires minimum amount of publication/broadcast in minority languages, declares all languages and alphabets equal or requires labor and private organizations to protect language rights | 4  |
| _____ Requires federal/local laws to protect language rights or designates multiple official or national languages  | 3  |
| _____ (a) Provides for regional languages or (b) prescribes use of native language for local community events or personal names   | 2  |
| _____ Prohibits civil rights, human rights or employment discrimination based on language   | 1  |
| _____ No provision / To be determined by law  | 0  |
| _____ Requires official language place names  | -1 |
| _____ Requires official language in workplace or limits entrance to certain professions to native speakers of official language   | -2 |
| _____ Prohibits use of specific language(s) or of languages prohibited by law in public areas or in print, recording or broadcast media or requires official language for personal names        | -3 |
| _____ Prohibits specific language(s) listed below or languages prohibited by law in private areas   | -4 |

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

# GROUP LANGUAGE STATUS DATA FORM

Country: \_\_\_\_\_ Group: \_\_\_\_\_ Coded by: \_\_\_\_\_ on: \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_

Date of Constitution: \_\_\_\_\_ New\_\_ or Amended \_\_

## A. Language Policy Regarding Political, Judicial and Administrative Systems:

Coding:

- |   |    |
|---|----|
| _____ Either (a) group's language is official language for all court proceedings or (b) use of native language is allowed for all court proceedings       | 4  |
| _____ Either (a) policy provides for use of native language if prevalent in local area or (b) interpretation is required in both civil and criminal cases | 3  |
| _____ Use of native language is allowed for federal agency proceedings  | 2  |
| _____ Interpretation of charges and trial in criminal cases is required   | 1  |
| _____ No provision / To be determined by law  | 0  |
| _____ Use of native language in court is allowed for foreigners only  | -1 |
| _____ Legislative positions are limited to native speakers of official language, and group's language is not official language                            | -2 |
| _____ Voting rights are limited to native speakers of official language, and group's language is not official language                                    | -3 |
| _____ Use of group's language is forbidden  | -4 |

## B. Language Policy Regarding Education:

Coding:

- |  |    |
|--|----|
| _____ Either (a) policy provides for teaching of native language at all levels or as an open-ended right or (b) group's language is official language for education at all levels  | 4  |
| _____ Either (a) policy provides for teaching of native language through secondary level or for teaching of any language in public and private education or (b) group's language is official language for education at secondary level | 3  |
| _____ Either (a) policy provides for teaching of native language through primary level or as a general right subject to national interest or (b) group's language is official language for education at primary level                  | 2  |
| _____ Teaching of native language is allowed on temporary basis only, or rights are protected under existing law or custom, and group's language is not official language for education at any level                                   | 1  |
| _____ No provision / To be determined by law   | 0  |
| _____ Native language teaching is allowed for immigrants only  | -1 |
| _____ Education is given only in official language(s), and group's language is not official language   | -2 |
| _____ Teaching of group's language is forbidden  | -3 |
| _____ Use of group's language is forbidden   | -4 |

# GROUP LANGUAGE STATUS DATA FORM

Page 2

Country: \_\_\_\_\_ Group: \_\_\_\_\_

## C. Language Policy Regarding Media, Employment and General Matters:

Coding:

- |   |    |
|---|----|
| _____ Either (a) group's language is official language<br>or (b) policy requires minimum amount of publication/broadcast in minority<br>languages, declares all languages and alphabets equal or requires labor and private<br>organizations to protect language rights | 4  |
| _____ Either (a) federal/local laws are required to protect language rights<br>or (b) group is one of multiple official or national languages   | 3  |
| _____ Either (a) policy prescribes use of native language for local community events or<br>personal names<br>or (b) group's language is designated as a regional language   | 2  |
| _____ Civil rights, human rights or employment discrimination based on language is<br>prohibited  | 1  |
| _____ No provision / To be determined by law  | 0  |
| _____ Official language is required for place names, and group's language is not official<br>language   | -1 |
| _____ Official language is required in workplace or entrance to certain professions is<br>limited to native speakers of official language, and group's language is not official<br>language   | -2 |
| _____ Either (a) use of group's language(s) is prohibited by law in public areas or in print,<br>recording or broadcast media,<br>or (b) use of official language is required for personal names and group's language is<br>not official language                       | -3 |
| _____ Group's language(s) is prohibited by law in private areas   | -4 |

LANGUAGE POLICY SCORING SUMMARY FORM

Country: \_\_\_\_\_  
Date of Constitution: \_\_\_\_\_

Prepared by: \_\_\_\_\_ on: \_\_/\_\_/\_\_

Country scores based on data forms:

Language policy regarding administrative and judicial systems	_____
Language policy regarding educational matters	_____
Language policy regarding other matters	_____

Group scores based on data forms:

<u>Group Name</u>	<u>Adm/Jud</u>	<u>Educational</u>	<u>General</u>
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____



## APPENDIX B

### COUNTRY & GROUP LIST

COUNTRIES AND GROUPS								
Country	Group Name	Type of Group						Language
		National Peoples			Minority Peoples			
		EN*	NM	IP	EC	CC	RS	
Australia	Aborigines			x				MULT
Benin	NONE							NA
Botswana	San Bushmen			x				MULT
Burkina Faso	NONE							NA
Burma	Kachins			x				MULT
	Karens	x						Karen
	Mons			x				MULT
	Rohingya (Arakanese)			x				Burmese
	Shans	x						Thai Group
	Zomis (Chins)			x				MULT
	Cameroon	Bamileke					x	Bantu
	Kirdis			x			MULT	
	Westerners					x	English	
Canada	French Canadians	x						French
	Indigenous Peoples			x				MULT
	Quebecois	x						French
China	Hui Muslims						x	Chinese
	Tibetans	x						Tibetan
	Turkmen			x				Turkmen
Costa Rica	Antillean Blacks				x			English, Spanish
Côte D'Ivoire	NONE							NA
Denmark	NONE							NA
Dominican Republic	NONE							NA
Ecuador	Blacks				x			Spanish
	Indigenous Highland Peoples			x				MULT
	Lowland Indigenous Peoples			x				MULT
Egypt	Copts						x	Arabic
El Salvador	Indigenous Peoples			x				MULT
Gabon	NONE							NA
Greece	Muslims						x	Turkish
	Roma (Gypsies)				x			Romani
Honduras	Black Karibs				x			Garifuna
	Indigenous Peoples			x				

COUNTRIES AND GROUPS								
Country	Group Name	Type of Group						Language
		National Peoples			Minority Peoples			
		EN*	NM	IP	EC	CC	RS	
India	Assamese			x				Assamese
	Bodos			x				Bodo
	Kashmiris	x						Kashmiri, Urdu, Hindi
	Mizos			x				Mizo
	Muslims						x	MULT
	Nagas			x				MULT
	Scheduled Tribes			x				MULT
	Sikhs	x						Punjabi
	Tripuras			x				MULT
Indonesia	Acehnese	x						Acehnese
	Chinese				x			Chinese Group
	East Timorese	x						MULT
	Papuans			x				MULT
Iran	Arabs		x					Arabic
	Azerbaijanis		x					Azeri Turkish
	Baha'is						x	MULT
	Bakhtiari			x				Luri
	Baluchis			x				Baluchi
	Christians						x	MULT
	Kurds	x						Kurdish
	Turkmen		x					Turkmenian
Iraq	Kurds	x						Kurdish
	Shi'is						x	Arabic
	Sunnis					x		Arabic
Ireland	NONE							NA
Italy	Roma (Gypsies)				x			Romani
	Sardinians	x						Sard
	South Tyrolians		x					German
Jamaica	NONE							NA
Jordan	Palestinians	x						Arabic
Kenya	Kalenjins			x				MULT
	Kikuyu					x		Kikuyu
	Kisii					x		Kisii
	Luhya					x		MULT
	Luo					x		Luo
	Maasai			x				Maasai
Kuwait	NONE							NA

COUNTRIES AND GROUPS								
Country	Group Name	Type of Group						Language
		National Peoples			Minority Peoples			
		EN*	NM	IP	EC	CC	RS	
Lebanon	Druze					x		Arabic
	Maronite Christians					x		French, Arabic
	Palestinians	x						Arabic
	Shi'is					x		Arabic
	Sunnis					x		Arabic
Lesotho	NONE							NA
Libya	NONE							NA
Malawi	NONE							NA
Malaysia	Chinese					x		Mandarin
								Chinese
	Dayaks			x				MULT
	Indians					x		Tamil
	Kadazans			x				Kadazandusun
Mali	Tuareg					x		Tuareg
Mauritius	NONE							NA
Mongolia	NONE							NA
Mozambique	NONE							NA
Nepal	NONE							NA
Niger	Tuareg	x						Tamasheq
Nigeria	Ibo					x		Ibo
	Ogani					x		Ibibio Group
	Yoruba					x		Yoruba Group
North Korea	NONE							NA
Pakistan	Ahmadis						x	MULT
	Baluchis		x					Baluchi, Brahui
	Hindus						x	MULT
	Mohajirs					x		Urdu
	Pashtuns (Pushtuns)					x		Pashtu
	Sindhis					x		Sindhi
Panama	Blacks				x			Spanish
	Chinese				x			Chinese Group
	Indigenous Peoples			x				MULT
Papua New Guinea	Bouganvilleans	x						MULT

COUNTRIES AND GROUPS								
Country	Group Name	Type of Group						Language
		National Peoples			Minority Peoples			
		EN*	NM	IP	EC	CC	RS	
Peru	Blacks (Afro-Peruvians)				x			Spanish
	Highland Indigenous Peoples			x				Quechua, Aymara, MULT
	Lowland Indigenous Peoples			x				MULT
Poland	NONE							NA
Portugal	NONE							NA
Rwanda	Hutus					x		Kinyarwanda
	Tutsis					x		Kinyarwanda
Saudi Arabia	Shi'is						x	Arabic
Sierra Leone	Creoles				x			Krio (Creole)
	Limba					x		Limba
	Mende					x		Mende
	Temne					x		Temne
Slovakia	Hungarians		x					Hungarian
	Roma (Gypsies)				x			Romani
Somalia	Issaq					x		Somali, Arabic
Spain	Basques	x						Euskera
	Catalans		x					Catalan
	Roma (Gypsies)				x			Romani
Sri Lanka	Indian Tamils				x			Tamil
	Sri Lankan Tamils	x						Tamil
Sudan	Southerners	x						MULT
Switzerland	Foreign Workers				x			MULT
	Jurassians		x					French
Syria	Alawi					x		Arabic
Tanzania	NONE							NA
Tunisia	NONE							NA
Turkey	Kurds	x						Kurdish
UAR	NONE							NA
Uganda	Acholi					x		Acholi
	Baganda	x						Bantu
USA	African-Americans				x			English
	Hispanics				x			Spanish
	Native Americans			x				MULT
	Native Hawaiians			x				Hawaiian

COUNTRIES AND GROUPS								
Country	Group Name	Type of Group						Language
		National Peoples			Minority Peoples			
		EN*	NM	IP	EC	CC	RS	
Venezuela	Blacks				x			Spanish
	Indigenous Peoples			x				MULT
Vietnam	Chinese				x			Chinese
	Montagnards			x				MULT
Yemen	NONE							NA
Yugoslavia	Croats		x					Croatian
	Hungarians		x					Hungarian
	Kosovo Albanians		x					Albanian
	Roma (Gypsies)				x			Romani
	Sandzak Muslims						x	MULT
Zambia	Bemebe					x		Bemebe (Bemba)
	Lozi					x		Lozi
Zimbabwe	Europeans				x			MULT
	Ndebele					x		MULT
Total # of Group Cases**		151						

\*EN = Ethnonational  
 NM = National Minority  
 IP = Indigenous People  
 EC = Ethno-class  
 CC = Communal Contender  
 RS = Religious Sect

\*\*128 groups and 23 countries with no groups

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